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New Statesman

New Statesman
14-16 Farringdon Lane
London EC1R 3AU
Tel: 01-253 2001
Editorial: 01-253 2003
Telex: 28449
Cables: Newstat, London EC1
©1984 Statesman & Nation Publishing Company Ltd and contributors
Published and distributed by The Statesman & Nation Publishing Company Ltd

Subscriptions: Lesley Bridgmount, Cecilia Milton
Circulation: Liz Cooper, Tim Freeman
Display advertisements: Michael Roberts 01-253 2001
Classified advertisements: Laura Berryman, David Jones 01-251 5487

Subscription Rates
Surface mail:
UK £32, Overseas £36

Air mail:
Europe £36, Middle East £41, Africa, India, South America £45, Australasia, Far East £49, USA $79, Canada $92

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Cover photo: Derek Speirs/Report

Heroin pushers out
Eamonn McCann on the explosion of political will in the slums of Dublin p.8

JUNE 14

EUROPEAN ELECTION

Euro-elections campaign guide pp.i-ix

John Palmer: Vision of a socialist Europe p.ii
Mary Kaldor: Security matters p.iv
David Blake: Farm and industry policy contradictions p.viii

Plus: Figures and factions in the Parliament; prospects for the Left; guide to Brussels jungle; history of the Community

Super man
Godfrey Hodgson considers de Gaulle's personality, ideas and achievement p.22

News pp.4-6
Peter Kellner: Euro-Liberal disarray p.7
Duncan Campbell: Dirty War Pt III p.10
Phil Cohen and Graham Anderson: private contractors clean up NHS unions p.12
Bernard Crick: thinking about Ireland p.13
Diary: Ian McEwan p.15
Roger Woddis p.15
John Rodda: the 'Nyet' Olympics p.16
Denis MacShane: industrial unrest in Europe p.17
Tony Patterson: German SPD fudges unity p.18
Jan Kavan: Lis re-arrested p.18
Letters p.19
Bretecher p.21
Michael Rosen: Children's literature p.23
Michael Leapman: Ian Trethowan p.24
Selima Hill: Poem p.24
Mervyn Jones: William Morris's letters p.24
Harriett Gilbert: Fiction p.25
Shorter reviews p.26
Barney Hoskyns: Soul p.27
Andrew Clements: Music p.27
John Coleman: Films p.28
Hugo Williams: Television p.29
Susan Todd: Theatre p.30
Jeremy Lewis: First person p.31
Weekend competition p.31
Crossword p.32
Listings p.34

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New Statesman

Vol 107 No 2774 18 May 1984

Crime without a victim

THE 1967 SEXUAL Offences Act has been on the statute book now for the better part of two decades. Its intention was to 'decriminalise' homosexual acts in private between consenting adults over 21. As the case of Dr Keith Hampson, MP, has shown this week, society and the Metropolitan Police have not moved as far as law reformers had hoped in the intervening period.

It is a slight comfort that the Home Office was able to announce on Monday that rules governing the behaviour of plain clothes police officers engaged in arresting gay men will be tightened. But this was not a case of the Home Office acting with unusual speed in defence of individuals' civil liberties. For in fact the Home Office had been under notice of complaint at the latest surge of harassment of gay men by the Metropolitan Police since last October. This has concentrated on the police station in the Earls Court Road area in West London, but has also extended to other areas such as Soho.

It is said that in 1976 Roy Jenkins, as Home Secretary, sent for the then Metropolitan Police Commissioner to tell him that his force was not respecting the spirit of the 1967 Act, which in an earlier government he had helped into law. Now a Conservative successor at the Home Office is still in effect having to convey the same message.

It is a disgrace that this should be so. It is also further clear evidence, if any were needed, that the fiction that the Metropolitan Police is 'answerable' to the Home Secretary is exactly that — a fiction. The central issue of police accountability is how and by whom ethical standards and operational priorities affecting police behaviour should be established. In a democracy it is clearly intolerable that such judgements should be made by the police themselves, regardless of Parliament's wishes or the state of public opinion. Yet the belated retreat by one of Mr Leon Brittan's junior ministers on the issue in the House of Commons on Monday underlined that this is the reality in London.

But it goes wider than London. The junior minister in the firing line, Mr David Mellor, was speaking in a debate against a Liberal amendment to the Police and Criminal Evidence Bill. It would have required that arrests for importuning should only be made by *uniformed* officers; that it would in future have to be proved that the officer had not encouraged the offence in any way; and that someone was actually offended by the accused's behaviour. Mellor said: 'I hope that Chief Constables will study with great care what has been said in this debate. Plainly there is concern about some of the ways in which it is said this Act is being enforced'.

The implications of those words are clear. Chief Constables outside London are still seen as autonomous in setting policy. The minister specifically did not say that he hoped that Chief Constables would take into account the views of the elected police authorities to whom they are nominally accountable. He accepted that the Home Office's influence over them was no more than exhortatory, and he and most Tories refused to take the obvious step of amending the Bill to ensure police did stop harassing gay men.

Such autonomy is unacceptable. As a result prosecutions under Section 32 of the 1967 Act (that is for soliciting for immoral purposes) have doubled and convictions tripled since then. This is clear evidence that the police have chosen unilaterally to ignore the liberalising intentions of Parliament at the time.

THE LAW, of course, must be concerned with sexual offences. But for a sexual act properly to be an offence either someone must be genuinely offended (a difficult criterion given some people find any sort of sexual display offensive) or there must be a victim who has suffered an unwanted sexual approach or act of aggression. In the overwhelming majority of the cases brought by the police under Section 32 neither condition is met. These are truly crimes without victims.

In the case alleged against Dr Hampson — indecent assault against a policeman in disguise in a gay club — nothing can have taken place that would justify the damage that the police have done to a private life and a public career.

Dr Hampson is the third sitting MP to be caught in this way recently. Attention and disquiet on this scale only occur when a public figure is involved. But the unjustified anguish caused to hundreds of non-public figures by the continuing vendetta by sections of the police against gays is equally important.

So, too, is the assertion of the principle that sexual laws should apply evenly to all manner of sexual acts. It is, for example, ludicrous that the age of consent for a sexual act in private should be 16 in a heterosexual relationship, but still 21 in a gay one. The same standards of what constitutes an indecent assault in, say, a private club do not apply to homosexual and heterosexual acts. If whatever Dr Hampson is alleged to have said or done to the policeman in disguise in a Soho club had been done by Dr Hampson to a woman in a non-gay club next door, no question of arrest would have arisen.

Equally, some sexual acts or approaches that should clearly be regarded as an offence are still completely disregarded by the law. Rape in marriage is an example. Yet governments, including this one, have continued to resist all attempts to change the law on this issue. Kerb-crawling is another — despite the recommendations of all recent commissions which have studied this offence caused to women. The excuse usually given is that the police would find it difficult to become involved in personal relations within the privacy of marriage. This argument is not strong and is made even weaker by the evident willingness of the police to become involved in entraping and prosecuting other sexual behaviour in private. In other words, both the existing laws and their enforcement are more to do with maintaining the freedoms of heterosexual men than protecting potential victims.

The case of Dr Hampson is disgraceful. But if the reaction from even the Tory side in the House of Commons is any indication, it may have done some good in drawing attention again to the hypocrisy of how these matters are conducted. This process would be helped if those involved were prepared to come out publicly and declare openly that what they do in their private lives is entirely their own affair, with no effect on their public position. That would do much to remove the fear of exposure which is the main basis on which sexual harassment via the law currently operates. □

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Staff asked to name students on anti-NF picket

COURSE TUTORS at North London Polytechnic are being asked to identify students on a demonstration from a photograph following an unprecedented High Court injunction brought by student and National Front activist Patrick Harrington. And with the continuing demonstrations threatening to disrupt the college during exam time there are signs of major disagreement in ILEA (Inner London Education Authority), which runs the college, over how to deal with Harrington's desire to continue his studies.

Last term, students repeatedly prevented Harrington from entering the poly through pickets. In the Easter holidays, Harrington obtained an injunction to stop the students obstructing him. It was served on the polytechnic administration and one black student, Steven Phillips. However, the students continued to picket, despite a further court hearing involving the editor of the student newspaper.

Last week, Harrington obtained two further judgments. The first empowered High Court tipstaffs to accompany Harrington into the polytechnic and to arrest any students trying to stop him, but tipstaffs have so far refused to do so. Those arrested are to be brought to court to explain why they should not be committed to prison for contempt.

The second demanded the release of the names and addresses of 20 students in a National Front photographer's picture of students demonstrating against Harrington. Students are concerned that this will be used as a 'hit list' as the names will be given to Harrington's lawyers. Following advice from their union, NATFHE, the course tutors saw the photograph but were unable to identify the students on it.

These students, all members of the student union's exective, have been identified by the directorate and the chair of governors will now have to decide whether to pass on the information to the court.

The students claim that the polytechnic directorate has not only absolved itself of responsibility for the situation but actually made it easier for Harrington. The polytechnic's lawyers supplied Phillips' name and address to Harrington's lawyers under no legal compulsion, and in court they described the students as 'the true villains of the piece'. Student union representatives point out that the case has exposed the weakness of ILEA anti-racist policy which prohibits the distribution of racist literature within educational institutions but does not allow for the removal of someone who is responsible for producing and editing such literature.

In fact, ILEA politicians appear to have been thrown into confusion by the whole business. One suggestion has been that Harrington should be offered separate arrangements for study.

However, Frances Morrell, Leader of ILEA, told the polytechnic students that 'natural justice' demands that Harrington be allowed free access and it is 'dangerous to deny access to a student on the grounds that he or she belongs to a particular political organisation'.

But Bob Crossman, Chair of the Ethnic Minorities section of ILEA and a governor of the polytechnic, said: 'If someone is a member of a racist organisation which believes not only that black people should be thrown out of the country but that they should not *exist*, then they have forfeited their right to free speech'.

The Black Workers League, which is supporting the students, is more specific: 'Even under the European Convention of Human Rights, the right to security of a person comes before anything else, so to talk of Harrington's right to education and ignore the issue of black people's right to security violates the Convention and is utterly racist'.

Amrit Wilson

Joanne O'Brien/Format

Women at the wire

TWENTY ONE Greenham women refused bail and were remanded in custody on Monday at Newbury Magistrates Court after a fence cutting action.

On Saturday 26 women cut their way towards the silos. Many of them got through to the second fence before being caught. Initially, they were released without charge 'pending further inquiries' despite the fact that each of them said they cut the fence with several others.

However, after repeating the action all 26 women were charged and held as they were refusing police bail which bound them not to go within five miles of Greenham. Five women taking photographs of the action outside the fence were also arrested.

The women took the action because they feel that despite more women being there than ever before, there is a consistent attempt by the authorities to pretend that the protest is finished. This is reflected by the police and magistrates' arbitrary application of the law. Many women are repeatedly arrested and released without charges despite significant breaches of security, while others receive heavy sentences.

The action has exposed the peculiar role the British soldiers are playing in 'peace-keeping' at Greenham. The injuries sustained by five of the soliders all resulted from trying to drag the women out of the barbed wire with their bare hands. 'They were furious at being made impotent by their own defences', said Woo Brown. Some of the anger was then taken out on the women, with several being badly punched. 'We're the law around here', one of the soldiers told a woman, when she questioned their role.

A trial date has been set for 19 and 20 June. However, the women in custody will be back in court on 22 May for a remand hearing.

Lynne Jones

Dangerous ships leaving British ports

BRITAIN is letting dangerous ships leave its ports, in spite of its international obligations, because of the government's eagerness to cut the cost of the ship inspection staff.

In Paris in 1982 Britain and 13 other European countries agreed to pool information on ship inspections, both to prevent the same ship being examined twice and to clamp down on unsafe ships operating under flags of convenience. But a cut from £25m to £21m in the annual budget for inspections has meant more pressure to hand over the work to staff employed by the ship's country of origin who have lower standards.

In October 1983 a Panamanian-registered vessel, *Valani Spirit*, put in at Shoreham with a cargo of timber. John Prescott, Labour's transport spokesman, asked the Department of Transport to inspect the ship because he believed it to be unsafe. The *Valani Spirit* had left Monrovia on 25 June and docked at Shoreham after an eventful voyage which included a broken propeller shaft and two crew being left stranded in Casablanca.

In Shoreham, the *Valani Spirit* was inspected by two surveyors, one from Lloyd's Register, on behalf of the Panamanian authorities, and one from the Department of Transport. The Department of Transport surveyor only inspected the officer's certification, leaving the ship's safety to the Lloyd's surveyor. This surveyor allowed the ship to continue to Bremen. In Bremen the port authorities surveyed the ship again, found 32 faults and refused to let the ship leave. These included the davits (which lower the lifeboats) not working, a lifeboat motor needing an overhaul, a broken fire alarm and a damaged bow.

Prescott wrote to Transport Secretary Nicholas Ridley in January to ask him what the Department of Transport found. Ridley said: 'We believe that the ship met all the required safety standards (at) a port state inspection again in Bremen. No defects were reported by the German authorities'.

Ridley confirmed that the Lloyd's survey had 'dealt mainly with the issue of a safety radio certificate and with damage to the ship's bows. The surveyor gave the *Valani Spirit* a two-week safety certificate on condition that the bow was patched up temporarily and that a full survey would take place when the ship was repaired permanently'.

Prescott wrote back enclosing the West German report. Ridley replied: 'my letter of 30 January was misleading. I am sorry . . .' Ridley continued: 'Whatever shortcoming this case has revealed it does, nevertheless, demonstrate the potential of the port state control system to act against sub-standard ships.'

Mick Hamer

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Women join pit closure struggle

NINE WEEKS AGO, six women got together in a house in South Yorkshire to work out how they could support the miners' strike. Last Saturday, 10,000 women marched through Barnsley to protest against pit closures.

The sudden growth of 'Women against Pit Closures' has surprised even its founders. They were expecting 15 coaches to turn up in Barnsley — there were 40, from as far afield as Durham and Ebbw Vale. The circular route of the march was over a mile long and the head of the procession caught up with the tail.

There are now 11 groups around the country, the newest in Cortonwood. Anne Hunter, who was one of the original Barnsley members, said that they had just had a hostile report in the *Sunday People*. 'But a woman rang me from Cortonwood to say that instead of deterring them, they had formed an action group with 50 new members, giving them a total of 100,' she said.

Many of the active women are married to miners. But they think the support they can give is more than providing food for the picket lines. 'We want to mobilise support and give everyone the heart to carry on. That does mean that some women are coming into conflict with their men over whose turn it is to picket, and who will stay at home with the kids. For many, it is their first political involvement,' says Anne Hunter.

The groups are also getting trained in welfare rights so they can set up centres to advice other women. Many families are living on less than £20 a week and there's little encouragement from the DHSS for them to claim free school meals or rate rebates.

Industrial cutbacks are nothing new to Barnsley. 'We've already been devastated by MacGregor wiping out the steel industry. The next move will be to privatise the profitable pits and close the rest. I've got four sons and I don't particularly want them to go underground. But if that's the only employment left, I'm going to fight to keep it alive,' said Anne Hunter.

Jane Dibblin

● *Money to support Women against Pit Closures to be sent to: Anne Hunter: 5 Pack Horse Green, Silkstone, Barnsley, South Yorks.*

Prison certified after protest

CIRUS NOOR, currently serving 28 months' imprisonment, has been certified under the Mental Health Act in Wandsworth prison. Noor was imprisoned in December for possessing petrol bombs outside a police station and was involved in the Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign around the death in a police station of Colin Roach.

Noor's solicitor, Brian Raymond, expressed shock when he learned of the decision to certify Noor and the haste with which it was done. He says he has known Noor over a period of ten months and never come across any signs of mental disturbance. On a recent visit he found him 'rational and coherent'.

The decision to certify Noor appears to have been made following the staging of a protest against conditions in the prison. According to Noor, he was put in a strip cell for three days and then transferred to the hospital wing where, the Home Office admits, he was injected with Modecate on 25 April and certified.

But the Home Office claims that Noor 'behaved violently' in the exercise yard on 24 April and was placed in a 'special cell' for half an hour. He was again placed in that cell the following day after 'damaging fittings in his cell' and later injected and certified.

Sarah Moore, a friend who visited Noor on 2 May, reported that he was in a drugged state suffering from distorted perception of time, muscular tremors and lack of concentration.

Noor has had a number of clashes with the prison authorities, most notably when he was a assaulted by a number of prison officers in the visiting room at Pentonville prison (see *NS* 25 November and 9 December 1983). At that time, the Home Office told journalists 'off the record' that Noor was mentally disturbed.

The Defence Campaign has condemned the decision to certify Noor as 'racist' particularly as the Home Office, in confirming the certification, mentioned the fact that Noor had changed his name. In fact, since his imprisonment, Noor has adopted Islam and changed his name to Mohammed, not normally regarded as evidence of mental instability.

Terry O'Halloran

MISCELLANY

Irrational wants

Roger Scruton, the ultra-reactionary philosophy lecturer, attacks War on Want for being a 'politicised' charity in his latest fortnightly column in *The Times*. It gives active support, he complains, to the '[Namibian] "refugees" who over the last few years have gathered in Angola, very often with automatic rifles over their shoulders'. Perhaps he is referring to the £2 million worth of European Community food aid administered by WoW to the 70,000 Namibian civilians, mostly women and children, camped in southern Angola. Then he attacks WoW's activities in Grenada (again mostly EEC money) and its aid for Salvadorean refugees. For a trained philosopher, Scruton's argument is quite incoherent. WoW should not enjoy the privileges of a charity, he argues, because it ought to relieve immediate suffering 'under the impulse of compassion, and without a rational plan'. Like the privateering Adam Smith Institute or the grammar school lobbyists on the National Council for Educational Standards, perhaps.

Theft and Right

Now that he has ceased being chair of the Young Conservatives, life has become more interesting for Phil Pedley. Last Friday his Ford Sierra Estate was broken into while he was at a trade fair at the security-conscious Heathrow Holiday Inn hotel. Happens every day, you might think. But Pedley is also currently being sued for libel by three Conservative MPs over the *Panorama* programme on extreme right-wing infiltration of the Tory party, which he helped make. Crucial evidence, including letters signed by two of the MPs, Harvey Proctor and Gerald Howarth, were in a briefcase in the back of his car, which was taken. All grist to the conspiracy theorists' mill, but luckily Pedley had kept photocopies.

Word from the lads

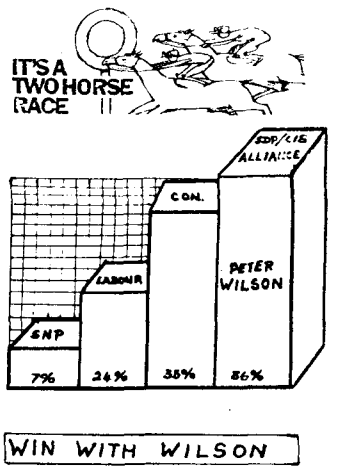
Praise from an unexpected quarter for an *NS* exposé. In March, together with Yorkshire TV's *First Tuesday* programme, we questioned the evidence which convicted Annie Maguire in the 'Auntie Annie's bomb kitchen' case (a single test, now discontinued, for nitroglycerine on swabs allegedly taken from the Maguire household). The Home Office is still refusing to review the case. One of the researchers for the YTV programme was recently at a political meeting on Palestine, which, like many political meetings on Palestine, was attended in a plain clothes capacity by the Special Branch. The plain clothes officer recognised the researcher (we are not told how), and said: 'All the lads have been talking about your Auntie Annie film. We're sure you got it right. Well done.'

If and if and if. . .

In last Sunday's *Observer*, Alan Watkins floated the idea that Neil Kinnock might give way to Denis Healey as leader of the Labour Party. But it not as simple as that. Either Kinnock would have to announce in advance (like Michael Foot last year) his decision not to accept nomination — in which case there would be at least ten weeks of electioneering, bloodletting and other comradely behaviour. Or, Kinnock could just wake up one morning and resign. The trouble for Denis is that Roy Hattersley would automatically take over as leader. The only way to stop that happening would be for Hattersley to resign first. Then, under the party's new rules, the shadow cabinet could elect 'one of their number' — *viz*, the bruiser — as new deputy leader. *Then* Kinnock could resign and let Denis take charge. In other words, not only does the Healey take-over scenario involve Roy Hattersley; it requires him to make the first public step. These are deep waters, Watkins. Perhaps you should just tiptoe quietly away. . .

Racing certainty

Peter Wilson is President of the Scottish SDP, and held high hopes of winning the Edinburgh ward of NE Corstorphine in the recent council elections. A few days before polling day he distributed one of those leaflets that we thought only disreputable Liberals indulged in. 'It's a two horse race' screamed the headline, together with this assessment of the state of the parties: SDP 36 percent, Con 33, Lab 24, Nationalists 7.



The result? Not only did the SDP lose, but the parties ended up in precisely the opposite order: Nationalists 38 percent, Lab 23, Con 20, SDP 18. We trust this is an isolated example of Alliance wishful thinking. Tell us if it isn't.

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Breaking the mould of a crumbling alliance

'ALLIANCE, what alliance? It's a national alliance, not a local one' said Newham SDP councillor John Haggerty whose party is standing candidates against the Liberals in two forthcoming by-elections. In fact, Haggerty is responsible for the two by-elections taking place. He moved a motion in the council chamber for the two incumbents, both Liberals, to be thrown off the council because of electoral irregularities.

The by-elections are due to be held on 14 June, the day of the Euro elections — and therefore particularly embarrassing to the national Alliance standing on a joint Euro ticket. The split is the culmination of two years of wrangles between the SDP and Liberals in the East London borough. The full council elections in 1982 returned 54 Labour councillors, three SDP and three Liberal. Two of the SDP councillors had previously been in the Labour Party, and the other was a former Ratepayer, the local version of Tories. The Liberals, running as a 'Liberal Focus Team' see themselves as being 'on the radical wing of the party'.

The transgression of the two councillors was to have not been living in the borough at the time of their election. The two, husband and wife team 'Rif' and Ann Winfield, were living just outside Newham in neighbouring Ilford and had intended to move in time to meet the residential electoral requirements. They gave their address as that of the third Liberal, elected in the same ward, with whom they had stayed for a time.

The council decided not to take court action at this stage because a legal report warned that it would have an insufficient chance of success.

The Labour councillors, with their massive majority, were unwilling to press the issue. However, relations between the Liberals and the SDP worsened until in May 1983 they were unable to agree on who would be leader of the opposition. The last straw appears to have been a Liberal motion condemning cruise missiles put immediately after the SDP nationally had announced it was in favour of the siting of the missiles. In March the council passed a motion put by Haggerty to remove the Winfields.

At the by-elections, the Winfields will stand on their Liberal Focus Team ticket, while the two SDP candidates call themselves 'SDP/Liberal Alliance'. The Tories are not standing. According to Mike Thomas, chair of the SDP's organising committee, both parties have urged the candidates not to stand against each other.

Ann Winfield told the *New Statesman* that whatever the result, the Winfields would be challenging the council's decision to remove them but had decided not to contest it at this stage because they wanted to get back onto the council.

Two other by-elections are pending in Newham. In Forest Gate Ward, also polling on 14 June, the Liberal is not standing on an Alliance ticket despite a request from the SDP to do so. And it now seems the Liberals may run a candidate against the SDP for the remaining vacancy for which voting takes place on 28 June.

Christian Wolmar

The conference that never was

A CONFERENCE that never took place passed several resounding resolutions demanding greater independence and influence last weekend. The three-day conference was of Labour Party women, held in the splendidly-muralled Brangwyn Hall at Swansea last weekend. Despite the presence of 650 women delegates and a well-stocked platform of National Labour Women's Committee members, there is, accused the delegates, no official record of the conference and no provision for it in the Labour Party constitution.

Nonetheless, given the strength of feeling behind the demands for the women's conference to have a more powerful and independent role, it seems likely that constitutional changes will, at least be discussed at Labour's annual conference in the autumn. The principal demands passed by the conference were for:

- the women's conference to submit five resolutions to the full conference to be moved by delegates of the women's conference;
- a special conference to draw up rules of the women's organisation 'firmly based on the aspirations of its women members';
- the retention of the five women's division places on the National Executive Committee, but for these women to be elected at the women's conference 'thereby giving women the same right as every other section of the Party'.

The issue of women's organisation within the Labour Party received far more resolutions than any other at the conference (51 out of 185 compared with 24 on various aspects of the NHS, the second most popular issue). Many were inspired by the Women's Action Committee, a group which began in the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy but has outgrown its parent body. As it is does not campaign on any policies — other than constitutional change — it is not possible to assess whether it represents the political views of a wider range of women than its only other caucus rival, Militant, though it drew 300 women to a fringe meeting.

▶Militant has, surprisingly, been actively supporting the establishment of women's sections, following a rule change in 1982 which gave women the right to set them up. However, the Militant resolution on constitutional change, demanding that women have only one NEC member the same as the Young Socialists, was easily defeated.

Despite the opposition of the platform to all the resolutions calling for change, Joyce Gould, the London party's Women's Officer, said she was not at all disappointed by the decisions taken by the conference. The platform was also defeated on a resolution calling for black people's sections to be formed in the party. There were only a handful of black delegates at the conference.

The women's conference is generally a more radical and faster moving body than the full conference. This is partly because it is powerless and partly because it is dominated by the younger women who have flowed into the party in the last few years. Few trade unions sent delegations. In fact, the absence of women from trade union Labour Party life should be a major cause for concern. Out of 602 trade union delegates to the full party conference in 1983, only 48 (8 per cent) were women, while of the 624 CLP delegates, 171 (27 per cent) were women.

Sarah Benton

Leak inquiry goes North

THE GOVERNMENT's current crackdown on moles led two detectives from Scotland Yard's serious crimes squad to fly to Edinburgh last week to try to learn more about the source of a leak on plans for military nuclear waste dumping.

Detective Inspector Jack Kennedy and Detective Sergeant Sue Akers spent a fruitless 45 minutes questioning *New Statesman* reporter Rob Edwards about a document first publicised last September (see *NS* 2 September 1983).

Scotland Yard began its somewhat leisurely investigation into the leak by paying an unannounced visit on the London offices of two environmental groups, Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth, in February (*NS* 10 February 1984). Within the last month, the police have conducted a formal interview with Steve Billcliffe, the former director of Friends of the Earth and now the Labour Party's fundraiser, and Pete Wilkinson, the director of Greenpeace, both of whom answered a series of questions. There is some concern the two directors might have inadvertently provided information of use to the police.

Oddly enough, the police have also questioned Dr Ross Hesketh, the man who was sacked — and later reinstated — by the Central Electricity Generating Board after he had publicly attacked the use of civil plutonium for nuclear weapons. His only involvement was to write to Greenpeace requesting a copy of the leaked document after it had been publicised.

Hesketh's letter was found when the police searched Greenpeace's offices in February, along with another which names the *NS* as being in possession of a copy of the leaked document, prompting last week's trip to Edinburgh.

In the presence of his lawyer, Edwards was formally cautioned but refused to answer any questions. Kennedy then suggested an 'off the cuff' conversation. He mentioned that the police had a suspect, a government employee who, in his view, would probably not end up being prosecuted. Indeed, according to Kennedy, the mole may only be 'shifted sideways' to a job away from sensitive documents. In fact, such decisions are not taken by the police but by the Director of Public Prosecutions and the suspect's employers.

Kennedy expressed a desire to keep the matter 'out of the political arena'. 'I don't want to see this in the press,' he said, 'but this is a job we were told to do.' ■

Pam Isherwood/Format

Voting for visibility: Labour women's conference

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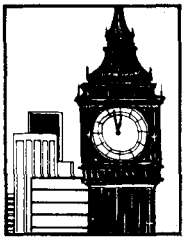

PETER KELLNER Political Editor

Steel and Owen fall out over Europe's Liberals

CONVENTIONAL wisdom holds that the Liberal/SDP Alliance will have a far easier task than Labour in fighting next month's elections to the European Parliament. *They* have a clear-cut, united view of the Common Market — they are for it — while *we* are divided over whether we want to stay in or not. Better to vote for candidates (or so the Alliance claims) who want to make European machinery work, than for candidates who are not sure whether to mend it or wreck it.

The reality is different. For a party which has had more trouble over Europe than almost any other issue over the past 20 years, Labour today is remarkably united. Neil Kinnock's formula that withdrawal from the Common Market should be an option rather than a commitment is almost universally accepted within the party. The reason for this acceptance is not particularly elevated: I know few people who have undergone any great conversion in the past 12 months. Rather, the comrades seem bored to death by the in-out argument. They have found better things to fight over. These days devoted pro-marketeers and passionate critics find that their arguments meet yawns and glazed eyes, rather than reciprocal venom. Still, for all practical purposes the outcome is a united leadership; and few will complain.

David Steel and David Owen would have you believe that they, too, are united. Do not be fooled. On Monday they unveiled the Alliance's manifesto for the Euro-elections. It is full of sweet-sounding phrases about checking 'the abuse of economic power by big business', controlling 'acid rain and other trans-frontier pollutants', working 'together with the developing countries' and so on. We are led to think that any Liberal and SDP MEPs who are elected on 14 June would work together with like-minded members from other countries to secure these objectives.

No so. Any Liberal who gets elected will join the European Liberal group in the European Parliament. Any SDP candidate who gets elected will not. The Social Democrats have told the Liberals that they will look elsewhere for partners; though where they will find any is unclear. The SDP would like to join forces with the German Social Democrats. But the German SPD belongs to the Socialist Group, along with Labour's MEPs. There would be no question of admitting any disciples of Dr Owen.

So where can the SDP turn? One clue is offered by the behaviour last autumn of Michael Gallagher. He was elected as a Labour MEP in 1979. Last autumn he left the Labour Party and joined the SDP. He decided to join the 'Technical Co-ordination Group'. This is a rag-bag of independents who lack any common political purpose. They include four Danish anti-marketeers, two Italian Trotskyists and Neil Blaney from Ireland. Blaney was expelled some years ago from Fianna Fail, following allegations that he was involved with IRA gun-running. SDP MEPs sitting in the middle of this crowd would indeed be a curious sight.

Mind you, one wonders why the SDP are even bothering to fight the Euro-elections at all. Despite their commitment to the Common Market, they seem oddly dismissive of the European Parliament. Unless, that is, Shirley Williams was defying the party line when she appeared, as SDP President, on Radio Four's *Today* programme last September. Asked if she would be a Euro-candidate, she replied:

> No I shan't, because frankly at the moment the European Parliament has got very few effective powers. It's a bit of a boondoggle really, and — well, I might do it when I'm in my sixties, but I don't fancy early retirement to Brussels at the present time, thank you very much.

THERE IS, though, a more fundamental question about the division between the Liberals and the Social Democrats in the European Parliament campaign. Why should the SDP be so opposed to joining the European Liberal group? The answer in short is that the group is far too right-wing for the SDP — and, for that matter, for a good many British Liberals.

The European Liberals drew up their common programme at a meeting in Munich last December. David Steel led the British contingent and tried to persuade them all to support the document. Seven refused. Despite some compromises, the document mainly reflects the right-wing views of the German Free Democrats and the French followers of Giscard d'Estaing. Here is an example of the sort of thing the European Liberals put in their programme:

> Liberals and Democrats affirm the need for Government to favour free enterprise by improving the competitive climate, with a view to stimulating economic recovery and reducing unemployment . . . The economic crisis will best be overcome, present jobs guaranteed and new ones created if excessive public debts are contained and if the total investment rate is increased by reducing bureaucratic barriers and through tax incentives.

Neither Mrs Thatcher nor Milton Friedman could have wished for a clearer statement of their own economic principles. In Britain, the Alliance manifesto is more muffled. It proposes 'a concerted Community programme for economic expansion and job-creation', including greater spending on road, rail and tunnel construction and on training for school leavers. The untutored eye might see this as a sort of wet Euro-Keynesianism. The untutored eye would be wrong.

What the Alliance manifesto leaves vague, but the European Liberals' programme makes specific, is the underlying purpose of Europe-wide economic co-operation. The British manifesto wants Britain to join the European Monetary System. The European Liberals' programme explains why — so that 'together with the USA and Japan, a durable world monetary system can be developed . . . As part of progress towards Economic and Monetary Union, the Commission should seek to harmonise and integrate national economic policies.'

It is not only on economic policy that the European Liberals side with the Right. Last November they supported a resolution at Strasbourg endorsing the siting of cruise missiles in Europe and attacking the 'pacifism of appeasement' of their opponents. To underline the pro-cruise sentiments of the group, Hans-Dietrich Genscher made an impassioned speech in favour of the missiles at its meeting in Munich.

South Africa provides another example. In 1982 socialists at Strasbourg sought to strengthen EEC action against South Africa. A report prepared by a committee under the chairmanship of James Scott-Hopkins, a Conservative MEP, criticised apartheid but proposed no action against it. The socialist group put forward an amendment calling for trade sanctions — a policy that would have no difficulty winning the support of delegates to any British Liberal Party conference. But the European Liberals once again voted with the right-wingers at Strasbourg and opposed the amendment.

What is curious about all this is the fact that on most points at issue, the Social Democrats have more in common than Britain's Liberal Party with the European Liberal Group. For the SDP to find the group too right-wing for their taste makes one wonder why the Liberals are so keen to collaborate with this collection of continental monetarists. And the SDP's stand completely undermines the claim some British Liberals make that their European counterparts are really quite progressive on things like social policy, and that one shouldn't exaggerate the differences. If that were the case, the SDP would have no difficulty fitting into the group with the utmost comfort.

Meanwhile, it is worth repeating that whatever the merits of tactical voting last June in the general election, there is none in next month's Eurovote. The effect of replacing a Tory MEP with a Liberal would not change the political complexion of the European Parliament: it would merely cause a minor shift in the balance of right-wing forces. □

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COVER STORY

We did it ourselves!

People living in Dublin's most run-down and neglected council blocks have turned on the heroin-pushers. Eamonn McCann reports on why this terrified the authorities

WORKING-CLASS people in some of the most deprived parts of Dublin have cleared their neighbourhoods of heroin over the past year and in the process may have given the police and the government here more cause for concern than the pushers ever did.

A year ago the heroin problem in inner-city Dublin seemed to be out of control. Reliable figures are hard to come by (there was nobody counting), but in some of the complexes of flats which ring the city centre the sight of addicts 'fixing' in the stairwells was so common that people stepped over them almost casually. A survey in one area showed that more than 50 per cent of 12 to 16-year-olds had at some time been offered heroin. Flats were being used openly as distribution centres. Police claimed that evidence which would stand up in court was almost impossible to come by. And, anyway, if one pusher was put away another would move in to take over the trade.

One of the worst-hit areas was St Teresa's Gardens, a complex of Corporation flats on the southside of the city along the Grand Canal. Built in 1951, it houses 400 families in 12 bleak slabs of grey-red brick. Last summer the local Development Committee reckoned that unemployment was almost 60 per cent, that only five per cent of teenagers regularly attended school and not a single person was in third-level education of any kind. Heroin abuse among youngsters was epidemic. And as the number of young people with a habit to sustain increased, so did handbag snatching, muggings and break-ins. St Teresa's Gardens was close to social disaster.

Last June a few individuals involved in the Development Committee — organising summer projects for kids, discos, an old folks' club and the like — called a meeting to discuss the problem. About 60 people turned up. They decided to send delegations to four pushers living in the flats to ask them to stop and to organise round-the-clock patrols to deter addicts from outside from coming in to score. The only practical result was that people who participated became even more appalled at what they saw happening.

By September, weekly meetings to discuss the problem and to hear reports back from the patrols had grown to about 300 strong and the mood had changed from despairing complaint to open anger. At one meeting the anger exploded into a cry of 'Drive the pushers out!'. And, almost in an instant, the meeting became a march which proceeded to the homes of three pushers and evicted them. Just like that. As hundreds of people chanting 'pushers out!' surrounded the flats the pushers fled. Their furniture was carried out and stacked neatly against the gable ends. The furniture was collected later. The pushers didn't return.

This action set a pattern which was to be repeated in similarly blighted areas over the next six months, first in Dolphin House, another Corporation complex about a mile along the canal from the Gardens, then at Hardwick Street flats on the north side of the river and so on. A certain formality was introduced: suspected pushers were invited to attend crowded meetings in school and community halls, confronted with evidence — statements from addicts, addicts' parents and so forth — and then told to get out of the drugs trade, or out of the neighbourhood.

The meetings were chaotic and emotional. Exchanges were unrestrained and the justice being dispensed rough and ready. But it worked. The inexorable growth of the heroin problem had been reversed.

THE POLICE had no involvement at all in this activity. They had hovered in the background while the evictions had taken place. In part at least, this reflected the fact that areas like the Gardens and Dolphin House had been virtually forgotten by officialdom and no one in authority was certain how to react to the startling events now occurring. The development of the anti-drugs campaign in Teresa's Gardens went entirely unreported in Dublin newspapers until after the pushers had been evicted — despite the fact that it had involved public activity which by any standard had been dramatic. St Teresa's Gardens was just not the type of place which gets reported. And the dominant theme of the coverage which followed was that mob rule had broken out and that stern measures were called for.

The irony of this was not lost on local people. 'Suddenly we are the criminals and the pushers are victims', declared Noel Sillery to a meeting at Dolphin House in October. 'They can all go fuck themselves'. Sillery is one of the leading anti-drugs activists at Dolphin. He is also a member of Sinn Fein and has served time in Long Kesh in the North for alleged IRA activity. His presence and that of other Sinn Feiners quickly turned the official confusion and unease into outright alarm.

By the beginning of this year anti-drugs groups existed in 11 working-class districts in Dublin and the semblance of a city-wide organisation — the 'Concerned Parents Central Committee' — had been pieced together. Apart from Sillery two other prominent Sinn Feiners were members of the committee. No other political party was represented. The conclusion automatically drawn in most of the media was that this wasn't just 'mob rule' after all, but that the mob was being manipulated, if not led, by an organisation dedicated to subverting the State. And if Sinn Fein was at the centre of the stage, so the theory ran, the IRA must be waiting in the wings. And, indeed, the IRA was to intervene quickly enough.

THE POSSIBILITY of retaliation by the drugs barons had always loomed large in the minds of the Concerned Parents groups. The pushers who had been resident in the flats were relatively small fry, mere retail traders. In the background were the wholesalers, well-organised criminal gangs handling the importation of the heroin and its packaging and distribution to the retail outlets. In the past year two people have been killed in feuds between gangs striving to assert control over particular territories. The gang bosses were unlikely to stand idly by now while their lucractive business was destroyed by roaming bands of agitated slum dwellers.

On 20 February armed men ambushed two members of the Teresa's Gardens group and shot and wounded 30-year-old Joseph Flynn. A few days later two, fortunately ill-aimed, shotgun blasts were fired at Francis Storey near his home in Hardwick Street flats. The attacks were taken as the opening salvos in a counter-attack.

On 11 March the IRA retaliated by kidnapping a 33-year-old man from outside a southside pub. The man's name had been put up locally as the one responsible for the Flynn shooting. He was an associate of one of Dublin's leading criminal bosses, an enigmatic figure who delights in press coverage, so long as he is identified only by his nickname, 'The General'.

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DRUGS
HEROIN CAUSED THIS
THIS MAN TRIED ALL IN VEIN
FORGET ABOUT THE BUGS AND THINK ABOUT THE DRUGS
EX DRUG ADDICTS WANT TO STAY DRUG FREE
YOUTH

Derek Speirs/Report

Local people take to the streets — while the police stand by. Demonstration last February in Dublin organised by the Concerned Parents groups

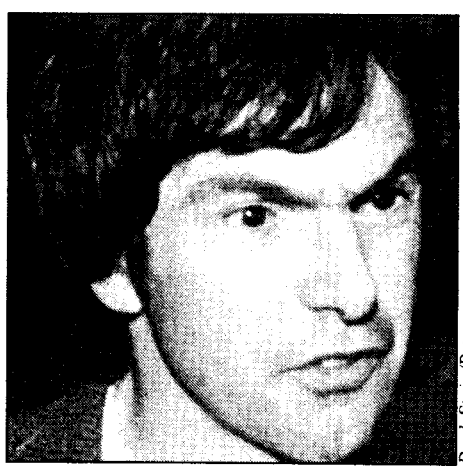
The kidnapped man was held for 11 days and released after an IRA kidnap attempt on another of 'The General's' foot-soldiers ended in a shoot-out in Phoenix Park and the capture of four IRA men. Since then, the drugs bosses and the IRA have held fire.

Meanwhile, the Department of Justice has announced a bill which would increase sentences for drug trafficking and Health Minister Barry Desmond has busied himself with plans for local treatment centres and more intensive efforts at drugs education aimed at schoolchildren. However, the most significant political result of the Concerned Parents' campaign may have to do, not with this sudden interest on the part of the authorities or with the profile of the Republican Movement in working-class Dublin, but with the effect it has had on the morale of areas like Teresa's Gardens.

Republicans emerged in the forefront of the campaign principally because few members of any other political organisation actually live in the areas affected: not one in Teresa's Gardens or Dolphin House. Indeed, 'ordinary' political activity was virtually non-existent. A full-time social worker with the Gardens' Development Committee estimates that fewer than 30 per cent of local voters ever bother to go to the polls: 'What would be the point?'. These were places built by authorities which clearly had something close to contempt for the people who were going to have to live in them, 'problem' areas where 'problem' people could be corralled and forgotten unless and until their lives spilled out to impinge on the consciousness of the middle classes.

The only TD (member of parliament) who has backed the Concerned Parents has been Tony Gregory, an independent radical elected for Dublin Central on the strength of a record of community agitation. He describes the first anti-drugs meetings as 'electrifying. . . I've never known anything like it before. There were scenes of great human drama, mothers getting up in tears to say that they'd put their sons out of the house because they wouldn't stop pushing. . . This was a great and genuine phenomenon, a community suddenly coming together out of revulsion at what was being done to them'.

Gregory, who is not a Provisional supporter and some of whose closest associates are adherents of the pro-partition 'two-nations' theory, dismisses the notion that the campaign has been a Provo front. 'The Provos have been involved at various levels, because some of them are part of this community. That's the fundamental fact of it. The question the other parties should be asking themselves is how come they have no presence at all'.



Derek Speirs/Report

Tony Gregory TD: community revulsion

What the anti-drugs campaign has given to inner-city Dublin is a sense of achievement, and that is a heady thing to happen to people who had grown used to being pushed around and pushed out of sight. At the end of an exultant late-night street party in Dolphin House last October, held to declare the area 'drug-free', John McCann, chairman of the local group, stood on a table outside the community hall to shout: 'Always remember that nobody did this for us. We did it ourselves!'

IT WOULD be silly euphoria to imagine that that feeling can easily be sustained or channelled into effective political action on broader issues. But a start has been made. In February marches from the Gardens and Dolphin House descended on City Hall to burn rates bills which had been sent out as part of a budgetary package to deal with the Republic's economic crisis. Hardly the revolution on the march, but it would never have happened a year ago. In the past month, meetings in school and community halls to discuss the proposed Criminal Justice Bill — which would give swingeing new powers to the police — have attracted 200-300 people who have had plenty to say about the actions and inactions of the police in the past. This time last year nobody would have bothered even to suggest such a meeting.

Says Gregory: 'The next phase might well be huge marches of ordinary people from disadvantaged communities demanding radical action on youth unemployment. Now that would be a really significant development'. It is the possibility of that development, more than the presence of the Provisionals, which may eventually cause the conventional political parties here to rue the day they dismissed the anti-drugs movement as a mob on the rampage rather than see it for what it has been: the battered inner city at long last fighting back. □

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DIRTY WAR PART III

Terror tactics

Duncan Campbell with more revelations of 'dirty tricks' in Northern Ireland from Fred Holroyd, former British army intelligence officer

THE IRISH government this week ordered an investigation of the allegations by former military intelligence officer Captain Fred Holroyd of illegal activities in the Republic. Foreign Affairs Minister Jim O'Keefe told the Dail that the allegations made by Captain Holroyd in the *New Statesman* were grave; 'they were being examined by the Garda (police) authorities'. Mr O'Keefe added: 'We have been assured by the British authorities that the British government had no knowledge of the events that took place'.

Members of the Dail have been particularly concerned by accusations that Army officers planned and paid for illegal kidnap operations in the Republic in 1974; and murdered an IRA suspect there in 1975 (*NS* 4 and 11 May). Captain Holroyd has also alarmed Irish TDs (MPs) by revealing that certain members of the Irish Garda (police) were regarded as British agents. One particularly fruitful source — a detective in a border county — was known to the Secret Intelligence Service as 'The Badger'. In return for his help, 'The Badger' was supplied with Special Branch and Army reports and information about Protestant extremist activities in the North.

Death threats

Early in 1974, a 'Liaison Intelligence NCO' in the Army's 3rd Brigade in Northern Ireland, then based in Lurgan, admitted to Captain Holroyd that he had sent a 'death threat' letter enclosing a bullet to a Republican activist.

The practice of security personnel sending anonymous death threats was apparently common. Captain Holroyd himself admits that he sent such threat letters to Protestant extremists in Portadown, hoping to inhibit their activities. Holroyd now regrets this behaviour — but the case we have investigated and confirmed was far more serious. The target was an innocent political activist, not a convicted terrorist and the bullet sent through the post (itself an idiotically dangerous act) led directly to charges being brought against an innocent third party.

In May 1972, Mr Charles Sweeney, a civil rights activist living in Craigavon, near Lurgan, received the death threat letter. It contained a live 0.32" round of ammunition — a type seldom used by the Army. But Staff Sergeant Bernard 'Bunny' Dearsley — the NCO involved — could, as an undercover operative, be specially issued with a small and easily concealed Walther PPK pistol, which used such specialist ammunition.

'Get out of the area and stay out', the letter warned Sweeney, or 'the next bullet will not be delivered in an envelope'. Although purportedly signed by the Provisional IRA, it stressed that Mr Sweeney's alleged offence was provoking 'serious secterian (sic) conflict'.

The bullet was, rather surprisingly, discoverd by the Post Office during letter sorting, but was merely resealed with official tape and delivered — bullet and all — to Charles Sweeney. This strongly suggest official complicity in allowing the live ammunition to be passed on.

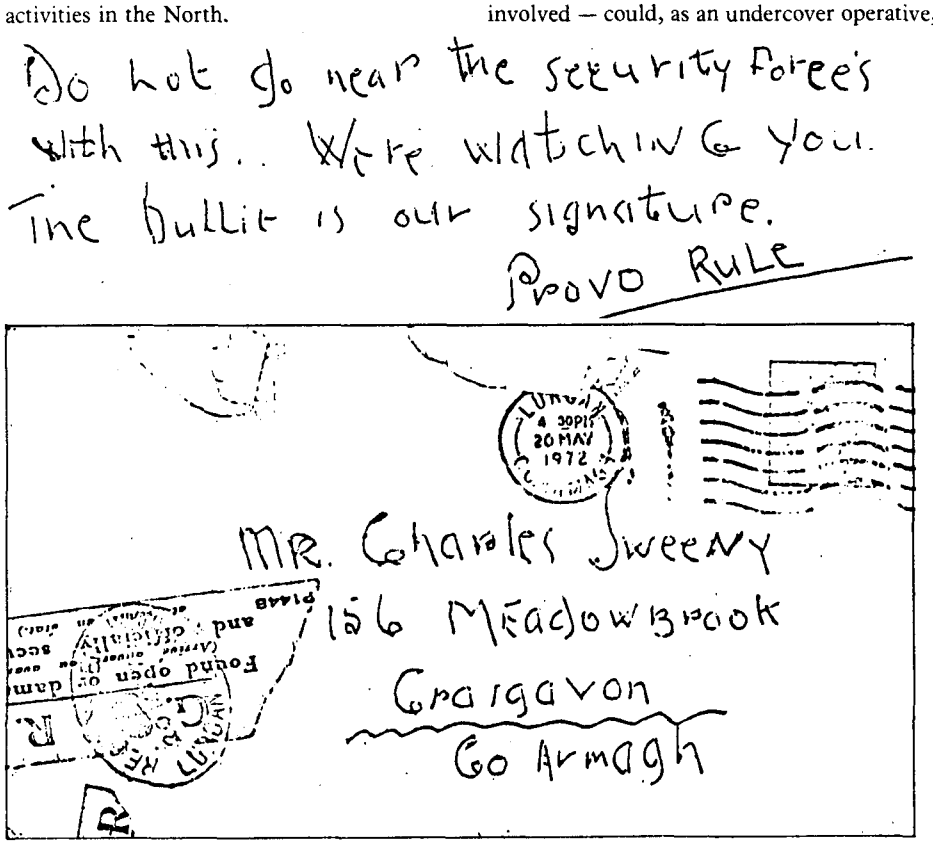
Terrified by the letter, Sweeney turned for help to Mrs Bernadette O'Hagan of Lurgan. A likeable and active local Republican, she was the wife of Joe B. O'Hagan, then the quartermaster of the Provisional IRA. Mrs O'Hagan put the letter in a spare handbag. After contacting her busband, she was able to assure Sweeney that the IRA was not out to get him. Sweeney was never threatened again, but in 1973 decided to leave Craigavon and return to his previous home in Scotland.

In April 1974, Mrs O'Hagan's house was raided and searched by the Army. The bullet was found; and Mrs O'Hagan and her son Kevin charged with illegal possession of ammunition. The charges covered both the 0.32" round and rifle magazines, allegedly found at the same time in the garden yard (which appear to have been planted during the search). The 0.32" round was still with the threat letter in the resealed envelope. Mrs O'Hagan and Kevin — then a student in England, who despite his family connections has never been suspected of joining the IRA — were both remanded in custody. An appeal court later freed them.

Soon after Mrs O'Hagan was arrested, Holroyd was told by Dearsley that she was being held on a false charge — and that he had sent the threat letter on the instructions of the Brigade intelligence staff.

The letter (see illustration) is still in the possession of the RUC, who showed it to Holroyd last May. He says he is 'positive' that the threat note was written by Dearsley. Holroyd was familar with Dearsley's handwriting — which was so bad that he wrote infrequently. Holroyd often had to copy or transcribe his written reports for him.

Sergeant Dearsley's widow confirms that Dearsley, who died in 1977, seldom wrote, and then only badly — but she is certain that the writing in the letter is not her late husband's — 'unless he was trying to disguise it'. Unfortun-



Death threat letter: sent by the army, enclosing a bullet, to Catholic civil rights activist. Above: Captain Fred Holroyd, long-haired and bearded as undercover intelligence officer in Portadown.

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ately, no samples of his writing have survived for comparison. Holroyd stresses that Dearsley, who was ill-rewarded by the Army for his courageous service, was ill at ease when accepting orders to carry out such 'dirty tricks'.

Forging and burglary

For at least two years, Army intelligence staff systematically forged press passes, bearing the name of plausible — yet fictitious — international press agencies. Journalists' lives were directly put at risk by the secret operation.

A year ago, RUC detectives — who have now sent a report to the Director of Public Prosecutions on all of Holroyd's allegations — told him that the Ministry of Defence accepted this allegation. But they claimed that the practice had been stopped in March 1976, after Northern Ireland Secretary Roy Mason admitted to Parliament that Army public relations officers had used such 'unauthorised' cards. Holroyd's revelations now confirm what many journalists suspected at the time — that the use of forged press credentials was widespread among undercover intelligence staff. (Such Army forgery became so widespread that in the autumn of 1975 the Provisional IRA in South Armagh announced that the safety of journalists in the area could no longer be guaranteed.)

Holroyd first came across the forged credentials in 1974, in a discussion with Warrant Officer Eric Hollis, who worked in the intelligence 'cell' at the Army's 3rd Brigade headquarters in Lurgan. Hollis asked Holroyd to assist him; how, he asked, did one spell 'international' in French. Hollis then showed Holroyd his forgery project — a fake press card for a Paris-based 'International Press Federation' — which he was then assembling using Letraset.

Hollis explained that other Army staff would use it for undercover work. After he finished, it would be 'printed up', and the cards then taken to Northern Ireland Army headquarters at Lisburn, where an encapsulating machine had recently been installed. This, Hollis suggested, would make the cards look convincing.

Questioned last year by RUC detectives, Warrant Officer Hollis reportedly admitted that he had been involved in forging press cards. Their design had been based on an out-of-date Spanish card which had fallen into Army hands. But, said Detective Superintendent George Caskey, heading the RUC team, Hollis had blamed Holroyd for suggesting the forgery idea in the first place. The Ministry of Defence has refused to comment, or allow officers to be interviewed, pending a decision by the DPP.

The RUC also appears to have accepted Holroyd's account of 'official' burglaries. When the Army wanted to discover more about the contents of a house under surveillance, they called in the specialist services of an expert from the Army Intelligence Centre at Ashford, Kent. Here, an elite team of British government burglars is based. During his own training at Ashford, Holroyd was given an introductory course in lock-picking and safe-blowing. His tutor was Captain Lock (sic), whom Holroyd later met on operations in Ireland. The lock-picking course was held in a section of the Ashford barracks, entered through a door made up to resemble No 10, Downing Street.

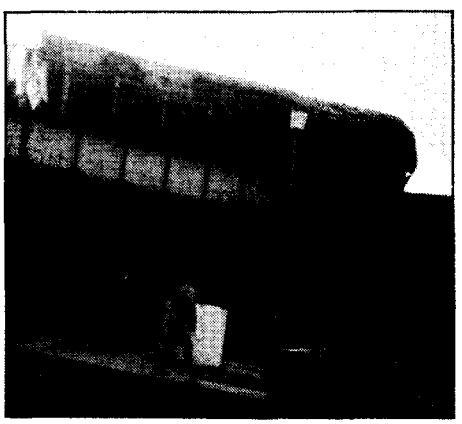
Holroyd's account of the Intelligence Centre's specialist burglary team is confirmed by other, more senior former Army officers, who have attended similar courses. One officer who underwent an anti-terrorist training course in the early 1970s, at Gosport, Hants (see *NS* 15 February 1980) was required to graduate by carrying out a mock terrorist attack in the Southampton area. His team planted a simulated plastic explosive bomb inside a water pumping station.

Captain Lock, the 'covert entry' specialist whom Holroyd regularly encountered in Lisburn, broke into both Protestant and Catholic targets. One target house was by the shore of Lough Neagh, where it was suspected that IRA arms bound for Belfast arrived by boat. Protestant targets included 'at least a dozen' loyalist Orange Lodges. Assisted by a Sergeant Drew Coid, a Special Branch colleague of Holroyd, Lock's burglaries enabled intelligence staff to discover the extent of the Protestant arms caches in the Lodges.

The RUC team investigating Holroyd's allegations has not denied that officially approved burglars were employed in this way. But they told Holroyd last May that Lock, now retired from the Army, was secretly employed overseas 'in the interests of national security'.

Train derailed

Early in the morning of 8 November 1974, Fred Holroyd was present in Portadown police station. Army and police officers were deciding urgently how to deal with a hijacked train, believed to be carrying a bomb. An Army team decided recklessly to derail the train in Portadown. If a bomb went off there, it would do heavy damage to a small and tightly knit Catholic district.



The train, derailed by the army according to Holroyd, on a bridge in a 'hard' Catholic area of Portadown

Two hours earlier, the Provisional IRA had stopped the morning newspaper train between Dublin and Belfast. They then set the locomotive to run on maximum speed and driverless into central Belfast. There was a chance that the train — travelling at up to 100 mph — would derail in Portadown anyway, as it entered the longest bend on the Dublin-Belfast route.

Among those at the emergency meeting were Sergeant Drew Coid of the Portadown Special Branch — Holroyd's closest colleague — and Captain Peter Maynard, the Army 3rd Brigade's explosives expert, together with his team. For some unexplained reason SAS Captains Tony Ball and Robert Nairac were also present, in plainclothes. Another Army intelligence specialist, who served in the 3rd Brigade area with Holroyd, says that in fact the train was stopped before it reached Portadown — and then restarted so that the SAS derailment plot could be carried out.

Half an hour before the train was expected at Portadown, all but Holroyd left for the railway station. There signalman Robert Milne had a private plan to stop the train by diverting it into a siding. He was, however, ordered to leave his signal cabin and did not see anything until the final moment of derailment.

The driverless train entered the long Portadown bend at speed, ran over the points where Mr Milne had hoped to switch it to the siding, successfully negotiated the bend — but then, as it entered the straight section again, suddenly came off the rails. It tumbled towards the Obins Street houses and came to rest lying on its side over a bridge known as 'The Tunnel' connecting the Obins Street area with Portadown's commercial district.

Captain Holroyd heard of the derailment soon afterwards, when Sergeant Coid and Captain Maynard returned to the police station. They told him that they had deliberately blown the train off the rails. Coid hoped that a near disaster for the Catholic community of Obins Street would deter us of train bombs in future. 'That'll teach them', said Coid. 'They won't send another train up here again. It the Catholics who have suffered this time'.

Holroyd went to inspect the scene for himself. By then the Army knew there was no bomb on board. But the local community did not know — and so, the southern end of the Obins Street area was evacuated, allegedly for 'safety reasons'. In fact, a detailed covert house-to-house search was carried, when the occupants had gone. The searchers found IRA and INLA flags, republican literature but no weaponry.

Locals remember the train crash and evacuation well. On the television news that evening, Merlyn Rees, Northern Ireland Secretary, was shown being briefed by the Army on the progress of the evacuation.

During an interview with Captain Holroyd last May, the RUC tacitly acknowledged the deliberate derailment. They pointed out that no one was injured — and that otherwise a bomb might have gone off in Belfast. The RUC also claimed that Captain Maynard denied taking any part in deliberate derailment. □

THIS ENGLAND

£3 book tokens for entries printed. (On postcards, please.)

□Alliance women not only have more sex: they also have more partners. MORI asked: 'Have you ever had sex with anybody besides your present partner?' Only 26% of Labour women said 'yes', compared with 33% each for Alliance and Conservatives. (The Conservative figure contained one inexplicable oddity: an odd 1% claimed not to know if they had had sex with more than one partner!). — *Sunday Times* (John Heywood)

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HEALTH SERVICE

Mopping up the unions

Pay below the poverty line and fear are becoming the normal wages and conditions for many hospital ancillary staff. Phil Cohen and Graham Anderson report

HERE IS a proposal for saving taxpayers millions of pounds a year. All university lecturers will be paid by the hour, a higher rate for actually teaching and a lower rate for the less exacting tasks of research, preparation and marking. With proper supervision, the lecturers could probably do all these tasks in 30 hours a week of the weeks of term time. For the 28 weeks a year when no teaching is conducted at Oxford and Cambridge University, and the 22 weeks a year at other universities, lecturers would therefore not be paid. The actual administrative work of the departments would be handed over to private management firms, to whom the lecturers would be responsible for their work output.

Such principles of course would not be tolerated by the professions for whom control over working time is the essence of professional status. But it is through the application of such principles that poverty and loss of any control over their work is being enforced among thousands of manual workers in the public services. On top of the cuts in hours enforced by local authorities, privatisation in hospitals is converting employed staff into vast pools of poorly paid casual labour.

Private contractors boast that they are continuing to pay the official NHS hourly rate — a mere £1.64 for domestic cleaners. But they forget to mention the massive cut in working hours, scrapping of weekend pay and lowering of standards that they are pushing through.

There is some resistance. At Barking Hospital in East London, 90 NUPE cleaners have now been on strike for almost ten weeks after rejecting a new contract from the cleaning firm Crothalls. The cleaners had been told to accept a 40 per cent cut in hours and thus in earnings. But elsewhere in Britain many already low-paid NHS staff are suffering dramatic pay cuts, and so far their unions have shown few signs of resisting this threat.

For Jean Kaine, privatisation has brought real hardship. She is 56 and worked as a cleaner and supervisor at the Medway Hospital near Gillingham in Kent for 18½ years. She was taking home about £56 for a 40-hour week. But within six months her husband Cyril was made redundant when the Chatham naval dockyard was closed and Medway health authority offered the cleaning work to private enterprise.

Exclusive Health Care won the right to clean four Medway hospitals and 19 clinics by promising a saving of £450,000 through 82 job cuts and 3,000 fewer working hours. Health authority members knew that Exclusive had little experience of the health service (they built their name on Southend's dustbins). So they 'spread the risk' (in the words of their administrator) by giving the contract for two other hospitals to their own direct labour force.

To win that, the direct labour force had to cut its own hours severely and so Jean Kaine, who kept her job at the Medway, was reduced to 25 hours with £36 a week take home pay. The new contracts began on 1 April this year. 'Our standard of living has just been cut in half because of this, and we're still paying off a mortgage. We never lived like millionaires before but we managed,' she says.

Because of the cut in hours Jean and her colleagues say the workload has increased tremendously. 'In casualty, there were two cleaners polishing and they cut this to one who has to finish the whole department in two hours. It is impossible to do. Women have come here, seen the workload and left. I have been working on the wards and it's shattering.' At least five people have quit since 1 April.

NUPE branch secretary Helen Manning complains of lack of proper equipment, lack of time for the contact with patients which made the job worthwhile and poor relations with the overall supervisor, who was recruited from Crothalls by the health authority.

CLEANERS DIRECTLY employed by Exclusive have lost more than money and job-involvement. They were all too scared for their jobs to speak to us. But the company admit that half a dozen of their staff too have already left, after seeing the schedules.

All 137 of the firm's staff are now part-time — losing their various rights and benefits. The contract stipulates NHS pay but not conditions. Although there was a five-week strike at All Saints' Hospital against the contract, Exclusive's managing director Roy Turner is keeping his fingers crossed. 'It could have been pretty rough with that background. We anticipated a Barking-type situation but it hasn't happened,' he said. The cleaners, thinks Jean Kaine, 'are too frightened for their jobs.'

One more element is needed for the private firms to establish control over the work process: the absence of a union voice. At Barking, NUPE steward Sue Smith was the only cleaner out of 90 not offered a new contract by Crothalls. In the Medway contract, both NUPE stewards, Jean Jones and Gay Joyce, were rejected by Exclusive when they decided which of the existing staff were 'suitable' to stay on. Union organisation has thus been severely weakened at Medway. At the Leeds General Infirmary, where Hospital Hygiene Services Ltd won the cleaning contract at the newly built Clarendon Wing last July, union organisation has collapsed. The wing was

Martin Haswell/Sam Press

Loading washing at the Brentry NHS laundry in Bristol

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meant to take on staff from two smaller hospitals in Leeds threatened with closure. But the number of full-time jobs was actually cut from 87 to 27 with most of the work being done by part-timers.

The erosion by contractors of longstanding pay and conditions presents NHS unions with a challenge to their very existence. The crisis is looming now because, by the autumn, health authorities will have to decide whether to sign agreements with commercial firms for cleaning, laundry and catering, or keep these services with their own direct labour force.

Last September, DHSS circular HC(83)18 exhorted health authorities to test all their services through competitive tender and to draw up a phased timetable for this by March this year. Regional health authorities then had to make an overall report by the end of April. So far 21 district health authorities have either voted not to comply with the circular or have put off consideration because they are unhappy with it.

Eight of these rebels are in London, four in Lancashire and three in Scotland. In addition, 13 authorities around the country voted to reinstate the Fair Wages clause (abolished by the government last September) guaranteeing existing rates of pay in any contract. 'Salford members don't like privatisation and consider ancillary workers to be an important part of the health care team,' said one administrator.

However the majority of areas have complied with government policy. This has placed the unions on the horns of a dilemma. If they oppose privatisation on principle and boycott the process they hand over the work to the private firms. If they want to keep the firms out, and therefore support direct labour tenders, they share the responsibility for reducing their members' pay and conditions.

In practice the decision has been made for them. Although the TUC Health Services Committee launched a campaign against privatisation after the collapse of the nine-month pay strike in 1982, NHS staff were too exhausted to want to come out again on a major issue. As a result the TUC and its individual unions have confined themselves largely to an educational role, running stewards' courses which stress that 'trade union representatives should seek to be involved at every stage' in the tendering process. They also encourage the resuscitation of joint union co-ordinating committees set up during the pay strike and this has happened in some areas.

But often, there is merely the hope that private firms will fail to keep up standards and will lose the contract. Altogether, union members in areas where privatisation is already a reality feel that their leaders do not have a coordinated strategy and are passing the buck to local officials.

'We've been told to oppose privatisation but not how to oppose it,' said Bob Norfolk, NUPE branch secretary at High Royds mental illness hospital in Leeds. 'The trouble is, the trade union leaders are not leading. All they say is "if you take action we'll support you" ', says Keith Metcalfe, chair of the Bradford NUPE branch and a porter at Bradford Royal Infirmary.

PRESSURE is now building up at grassroots level to take on the contractors. The NUPE conference in Bournemouth agreed last weekend that 'privatisation introduced by individual councils and health authorities will only be beaten by a strategy at national level.' But it failed to spell out in detail what a national co-ordinated campaign would mean, contenting itself with 'giving maximum support to all members opposing the use of contractors'.

At a different level, the Leeds East health authority has rejected the government's demands, voting 7-4 against privatisation plans after the Labour-controlled city council replaced Tory appointees with its own.

Suzi Armitage, COHSE branch secretary at the huge St James University Hospital with 700 domestic staff, 400 catering staff and 142 porters, says: 'We decided we were not going to have anything to do with privatisation from the outset. But we did trim the in-house work to make it more competitive and thus difficult for any contractor to come in.'

Jim Stirton, NUPE area official, believes Leeds East refused to follow the DHSS line because its members saw what was happening on the other side of the city in the Leeds West authority. There the Clarendon Wing contract went to Hospital Hygiene Services (HHS) whose tender was almost half the in-house offer because it was based on a work rate one-third higher than was normal for the NHS. The direct labour team offered to increase their work rate and cut their bonus payments yet preserve jobs. The health authority turned them down.

Now in Leeds West, the unions are trying to have HHS thrown off the contract for High Royds Hospital because of the cleaning standard. We have seen vomit and urine in the corridors, cigarette ends and paper rubbish scattered about. Staff say that despite the presence of many incontinent patients, only the toilets and dining areas are cleaned at weekends, and wards are left untouched. 'This is the quiet before the storm. And believe me, there will be one hell of a storm. This union could lose 100,000 members overnight in November,' said one NUPE official.

FORUM REPORT

The damnable question

Between Ireland, Northern Ireland and Britain there are several different, if overlapping, national identities in need of a constitutional relationship. Bernard Crick explores what he sees as the practical, rather than theoretical, problems facing us all on the 'Irish question'

Before there can be fundamental progress a major reassessment by Britain of its position is now essential. Underlying British thinking is the fear that risks of doing something to tackle the fundamental issues are greater than the risks of doing nothing. This is not the case. The situation is daily growing more dangerous.

THE WRITERS of this paragraph in the Report of the New Ireland Forum fear, of course, the growth of Sinn Fein, that it will overtake the SDLP; but we in Britain fear even more — with 1912, 1918 and the Workers' Strike in mind — the growth of Loyalist militancy. It is worth reminding ourselves that the tradition of the IRA has become one of terrorism, but the tradition of Loyalist militancy is that of armed militias ready to seize power. While it can be argued that Northern Ireland is not viable as a unit of self-government, and that a UDI is a fantasy, there is no guarantee that it would not be tried if the unity of Ireland were promised or threatened without consent. Everybody knows that.

Nonetheless, there must be a widespread British response, even if not at first an official one. The Forum report is important, though it is intellectually disappointing in its analysis of the issues and childishly simple in its historical analysis. I think most people in Dublin will know that the section on the 'Origins of the Problem' falls far behind the remarkable standard of objectivity with which, in the last twenty years, students of the great modern school of Irish history have written the school textbooks of the Republic. Those point to the tragedy — but also the inevitability — of the partition in 1920. Fianna Fail may have gained great concessions in the drafting of the document, as if Charles Haughey was obsessed with its domestic reception, but Fine Gael have long won the battle of the textbooks and, presumably, the minds of the younger generation. Now the beginning of wisdom and rethinking in the British public mind may be to grasp that after 1920 in many ways the separation between North and South has been greater than that between the Free State and Great Britain.

There is a strong case for institutionalising the special aspects of British-Irish relations, quite apart from Northern Ireland. The 'damnable question' of Northern Ireland is not the only thing we have in common. Despite all the huff and puff of nationalistic orators, in both countries, the present relations of the British and Irish peoples are in many ways quite exceptional to what we expect of sovereign states with a history of bloody conflict. (Witness the secure ambiguity of the Irish population, with their informal dual citizenship of mainland Great Britain.) The utmost attempts of the IRA to stir up old English and Scottish historical 'anti-Irishism' — which is what the Birmingham Bull Ring, the Hyde Park, the Harrod's bombings, and the assassinations of the

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British Ambassador in Dublin, Mountbatten and Airey Neave were all about — have failed. The bindings as well as the conflicts in British-Irish relations should not be taken for granted and we should analyse them in a trilateral not just a North-South context. We must build on what there is already.

The Forum document appeared to argue and conclude for a unitary state in Ireland — by consent and with safeguards, of course. It appeared to relegate the ideas of *federalism* or *confederalism*, or the idea of *joint authority* (a semantically less provoking reformulation of 'joint sovereignty'), to appendices — no, they were called chapters, but very short and afterthoughtish in appearance; as was the terse final paragraph of Section 5: 'The Parties in the Forum also remain open to discuss other views which may contribute to political development'.

But in fact, to cut a long exposition lethally short, no one in Ireland, except the IRA, seriously believes that a simple unitary state could govern all Ireland. Even the first paragraph of Chapter 6 on 'The Unitary State' states that:

> Such a state would represent a constitutional change of magnitude as to require a new constitution [shades of the abortion referendum!]that would be non-denominational. This constitution could only be formulated at an all-round constitutional conference convened by the British and the Irish Governments.

In other words, the British government is to be party to a new, secular constitution with guarantees to the North!

Nonetheless the Forum is right in the first paragraph I quoted. The British — government and people — have to make a serious reaction. And we have to reach some consensus. The issue is constitutional in the sense that if institutional changes are made unconstitutionally, like the GLC Bill, without inter-party agreement, then the next government will simply undo the work of the last. The Protestant veto of the 1973 Northern Ireland Constitution Act is, to my mind, an irrelevance. It represents a fact, not an undesirable accretion to the vague old constitution: that one million people cannot be forced, as Clive Soley said in the *New Statesman* last week, to live in peace and harmony with the other four million.

I think the serious men at the Forum know that we are all involved in long timescales, of a 'long generation' indeed. No institutional formulas or innovations will work if attitudes do not change — perhaps not enthusiastic agreement, for much of politics as distinct from street theatre is (however disappointingly) conducted in the twilight zone between agreement and acceptance. There are now even some Unionist politicians who realise that 'No Surrender' is no answer. They would be mad to stick their necks out prematurely, but that they are now listening is something solid. The Forum Report is being read. Loyalist leaders cheered the Falklands, it cheered them. But they have been very silent over Hong Kong.

WHAT THE Irish have the right to ask of us is something both simple and difficult: that we begin to think and to put the issue at the top of the national agenda as it was from 1848 to 1920. And as, despite the 'Unitary State' formal conclusion, they have virtually dropped the hope or desire for anything that could normally be called a sovereign, centralised unitary state, perhaps we should look at ourselves in that light.

The first step is not political or legal, but simply conceptual: that the *English* should think more carefully just what the United Kingdom was and is. We failed to keep most of Ireland within this strange constitutional formula that serves us for a national name, 'United Kingdom'. We have no national name, because national names are divisive. The Scots and the Welsh really don't think it funny to be called 'English' or part of 'England'. Consider the time-honoured theory, that 'parliamentary sovereignty' holds the three (three and a half?) nations together; and that, as all the simple textbooks say, we are a unitary and not, for instance, a federal state.

But then consider what the French must make of Scotland and Wales. Seeing positive discrimination exercised in the one in favour of a Celtic language (no laughing matter), and in the other the retention of separate legal, educational, ecclesiastical and administrative systems, and a different history taught in schools would they think that we were a centralised, sovereign, unitary state? Not to mention Northern Ireland. Our leading politicians used to be aware that the Whig theory of parliamentary sovereignty was a myth invented for the precise political purpose of scaring the geographic periphery into obedience to the centre: but the actual politics practised by the centre was one of compromise with divergent national sentiments.

Leaving Ireland aside Britain consists of three nations in one state. I suspect that even Scottish nationalists are, at heart, only extreme federalists — an independent Scotland, they say, would renegotiate its relations with the rest of the United Kingdom. So be it: it is only another way of looking at the same inevitable interdependence — interindependence.

It was never on the cards that, for instance, Scottish devolution was 'the thin end of the wedge' leading to separatism. That was either an invention of fanatic old Fabian centralists (of whom the Labour Party has had more than its share, until Sheffield and London, quite as much as the new Scottish Labour Party, taught us a lesson) or their self-deception. Some serious socialists, like Michael Foot, alas, really believed in the old Whig myth. *Some* Marxists, of course, in fact Parrot Leninists, also presume as a matter of *logic* that there is a single centralised all-powerful state which imposes a uniform culture on all regions, or invents harmless folk cultures. But I fancy that they are now fewer and fewer on the ground. Most socialists seem more impressed with the inherently federal, pluralistic dispersions of actual political power, and that national culture is not simply a product of the economy (it has, they do say, a 'relative autonomy').

We can move forward, slowly but deliberately, to meet the Irish again (who are not moving as fast as they try to sound), once we recognise our own constitutional nature: a multi-national, quasi-federal state. And within that state, there is a most historically specific and peculiar piece of business, somewhere that is indeed like nowhere else precisely and eludes all the main theoretical preconceptions, liberal or Marxist: Ulster.

AND ULSTER inherently faces both ways. Its relationship with the rest of the United Kingdom is a practical problem, but not a basic theoretical question. It is, by the wish of a majority of its inhabitants, part of the United Kingdom; but it has never been 'a *normal* part of the United Kingdom', as Mr Powell claims it is, or somehow magically wishes it could become. It has always faced both ways. The Forum Report notes that most Ulster people, even those who do not wish to join even the most reformed Republic, regard themselves at least partly as Irish people. Certainly they seem to 'us' more Irish than English, but the cultural closeness/distance is not all that different from that between the English and *working-class* Scotland.

Perhaps in the long run there will be a confederal Ireland, that is two Parliaments with a mutual veto on new legislation from a third common parliament; and with 'a British dimension'. But that is for the next generation to decide. What is more immediate is to explore aspects of 'joint authority'. Where would some common authorities benefit not merely North-South economic and social relations, but also direct British-Irish relations? As with the tourist board and lighthouses already, transport *de facto* if not *de jure*, and the never interrupted flow of people and ideas, as well as commerce, from both countries. Security? Higher education? A common criminal justice system and an economic development council? There is supposed to be an 'Anglo-Irish Council' now, a formal way of looking at the regular meetings of top civil servants. But it needs a parliamentary tier. Oh yes, a mere debating chamber at first, perhaps only meeting three days each for three of the quarters of the year. But the Irish Forum has given it an agenda, and — it cannot be stressed enough — direct British-Irish relations in their own right need formalising, institutionalising. No one would argue that any number of inter-governmental or inter-parliamentary agencies would threaten British or Irish 'sovereignty', or independence of initiative. Why should they threaten Northern Ireland? But they may in time dilute the animosities and suspicions and create a secure and natural sense of dual identity and allegiance.

The Forum is right. No solution to the Northern Ireland problem is to be found in Northern Ireland itself. Let us give Charlie Haughey his point: it has 'failed as a political entity' (which does not mean that it is about to collapse). But there is a 'British dimension' to Northern Ireland. Both are integral. The 'troops out' mentality is only the other side of the Thatcherite 'sovereignty' coin: all or nothing, you belong with them totally, or with us totally. Nonsense. That is neither relevant to Northern Ireland nor to Irish relations, cultural and political, with the rest of these islands: Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English. We at least have more in common than with anyone else. And we English need to be more grey-minded, flexible and less conventional about every kind of constitutional thought and political possibility. □

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DIARY

Ian McEwan

I was in Paris not long ago to interview the Czech writer Milan Kundera for *Granta* magazine. He lives with his charming wife Vera in a modest flat near St Germain and has lately been drowning in praise for his new novel, *The Unbearable Lightness of Being,* hailed as the new Voltaire, or Diderot, or Solzhenitsyn and besieged by journalists wanting to do interviews. I was all the more grateful, then, that the Kunderas should have gone to the trouble of preparing lunch for me; we ended with a special chocolate pudding whose exquisite, alcohol-sodden pastry can only be made in Czechoslovakia to a secret recipe. Someone had brought some back from Prague, and as I saw Kundera savour the last mouthful I thought I was witnessing the true cutting edge of exile. Not long after that I had a note from Philip Roth who was off to Paris to do an interview as well; he was leaving Heathrow on the 'Kundera Special' to be followed later by Hermione Lee, Clive Sinclair, Nigel Williams (for BBC's *Arena*) and probably many others. Can a good writer get too much attention? Any reasonably contrary prospective reader is bound to wonder if a writer can be any good if so many people say he is. But don't be put off by the praise. Kundera is a delight to read.

○

Chocolate pudding apart, Kundera did not seem at all unhappy with his exile. I think living in Paris might have something to do with it. Whenever I am there, I have the impression — at least for the first day or two — that it is a grown-up's city. It's not just that you're allowed to buy yourself a glass of beer in the middle of the afternoon. After all, you can even do that in Poland which is a grown-up's nation governed by children. Nor is it the amnesty declared on parking tickets, or the Parisian habit of correcting your French while ignoring your pleas for directions. Perhaps it's the fact that you can get a cup of good coffee almost anywhere and that everyone, not just peevish restaurant critics, but students, thugs, lorry drivers (not an ascending order) expects to have it. I walked past a CRS van parked in a side street. In it were a dozen violent-looking men, two racks of rifles, and on the back seat a picnic comprising baguettes, a whole brie, several bottles of red wine, a packet of coffee filters and a bag of coffee beans. No doubt the coffee grinder was up there somewhere with the rifle racks. Must we in England wait for the rattle of tumbrils down Whitehall before a taste for good coffee percolates down to even our nastier policemen?

○

Seen any good films lately? How about *Meutre dans un jardin anglais* or *Couers Captifs* or *Guerres Froides* or *Trahisons Conjugales?* They are all British films that have been showing in Paris where there is much earnest and good-willed talk of 'la resurrection du cinema d'outre Manche'. The French press seems willing to give us the benefit of the doubt. 'English films keep on coming, and they have nothing in common with each other,' the *Liberation*'s film critic wrote with delight. Whenever I was asked about 'la renaissance du cinéma brittanique' I found myself torn between scepticism and loyalty. In the end I plumped for the latter and praised Channel Four's generous and self-effacing financing — they made possible three of the four films listed above. Only two days later I was in Copenhagen where I was asked to talk about 'the remarkable resurgence of British fiction'. Again, I faced the same problem. Something seems to have gone horribly wrong. How shall we live up to our image abroad?

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Sales in Clapham of *Tatler* and *Harpers & Queen* are expected to plummet with the appearance of *Southside,* a smart magazine for us under-represented gentrifiers and wine bar folk. A hundred years from now urban historians will note the proud, sometimes desperate tones of these early middle-class settlers. In the arts pages — Artside — we read how a sense of place can pervade a writer's work. We are reminded of Hardy's Wessex, Emily Bronte's Yorkshire Moors and Peter Prince's Clapham Common: 'A great, grey, empty prairie stretched forth in every direction. In the distance, all round, ran a metal ring of traffic, grumbling angrily. Then more prairie. Then dark houses.' Exactly it. Elsewhere, efforts are made to talk up the price of the dark houses. The gossip page — Southsiders — has the rich and famous in bold type. **Tessa Dahl**

(daughter of Roald) and her husband **James Kelly** have spent nearly a quarter of a million pounds on their 'cottage' on Wandsworth Common and quite reasonably the Thames is made to flow north of Paddington to include the name of fitness millionaire, **Debbie Moore**. We need everyone we can get down here.

○

While Libya has been the country we love to hate, I have been remembering my childhood there. Britain was a Presence until the mid-60s, the paying guest of King Idris. Throughout the British Army, in which my father served, Tripoli was known as a good posting: an impoverished but docile (except around the time of Suez) population, a beautiful city dominated by its harbour and castle, a lovely coastline of alternating rock and sand, the ruins of two fabulous Roman cities, a fertile coastal strip backed by semi-desert, then the Atlas mountains and beyond them the Sahara. In the late 50s, Tripoli was a four-tier society. At the top were the Americans out at Wheelus Air Base; on certain nights the British, who were next down, were allowed onto the base to play bingo in the Officers' Mess and taste the beef-steaks that overhung their enormous plates. Next came the Italians. They had invaded Libya in 1911 and built Tripoli's arcaded principal streets. They now ran the shops and a handful of restaurants. At the bottom by a very long way were our hosts. At that time the oil in the desert was no more than a rumour. Looking back now I think ordinary Libyans must have been immensely tolerant of our presence. They were, for example, banned from the nicest stretch of beach near their city; 'Piccola Capri' was reserved for British soldiers and their families. Perhaps the Arabs knew our time there was limited. All they had to do was wait. I still have a photograph I took of some travelling musicians from the desert who must have knocked on our door. My father — a Scotsman — has grabbed a set of bagpipes and is bent double with the effort of Scotland the Brave. The other players are knocking out a baffled, good-hearted accompaniment. The dispossessed bagpipe player stands a little to one side, hands on hips, on his face a smile of infinite patience.

ROGER WODDIS

Heavenly hustlers

Dr Billy Graham, now touring Britain, is being followed later this month by Dr Luis Palau, an Argentine evangelist, whose backers include several wealthy British businessmen. His £350,000 advertising campaign is being handled by a Saatchi and Saatchi subsidiary and advised by Mr Harvey Thomas, a PR Consultant who also advises the Conservatives.

Are your talents being plundered?
Do you rail at legal theft?
You should know the sin of wages,
With the rock of ages cleft,
Means you'll never get to heaven
By inclining to the left.

Art thou weary, art thou languid?
If you feel a deep unease
When you hear the hellfire preachers,
Do you wish you were Chinese?
Be assured by Harvey Thomas
And the Tories on their knees.

Heaven beckons those who hustle,
Hell is being on the dole,
Though the keepers of the Kingdom
May not stamp the rich man's soul.
Needle-wise, the hump-backed camel
Has it easy on the whole.

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The 'Nyet' Olympics

John Rodda on the consequences of Moscow's boycott and the uphill struggle to the 1988 Games

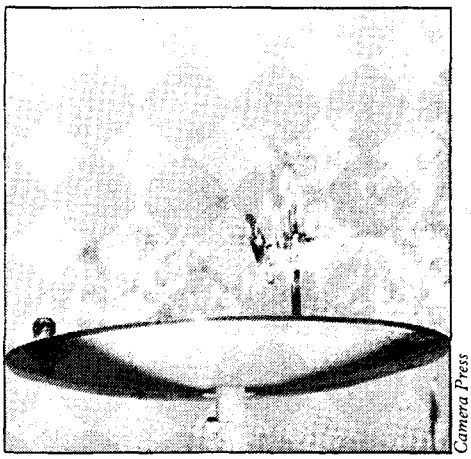
THE 'NYET' on the Los Angeles Olympic invitation card that turned up via Tass from Moscow supports the belief that the Olympic Games are, once again, about to come to an end. It is not surprising that this should be the instant conclusion when something as serious as the withdrawal of the Eastern European teams occurs two months before the Games are due to begin.

The problems of the modern Olympic Games began 16 years ago in Mexico with the killing of over 200 students in the Square of the Three Cultures just before the Games were due to start. This was followed by the massacre in the Munich Olympic village in 1972; the rejection by the Prime Minister of Canada, Pierre Trudeau, of Taiwan for the Games then held in Montreal plus the boycott by 22 African countries; and then, four years later, the American-initiated boycott of the Games in Moscow. Even if the Soviet action is just a tit-for-tat, which I am sure it is not, more and more people are now asking: is it really worthwhile going on? Stringing all those events together it would seem that the Olympic movement is indeed on a slippery slope. But just how or when you stop on that slope is the difficulty.

In comparison, the Winter Olympic Games flourish and just after the calm and sporting celebration of the Games in Sarejevo, the International Olympic Committee and Calgary (hosts for the 1988 event) signed a television contract for the North American rights of the Games to ABC Television for $309 million. Even up to a few weeks ago there were murmurings on the fringes of Olympic circles that if all went smoothly in Los Angeles — everyone turning up with no one being shot by a crank or a Los Angeles policeman during the time of the Games — then the Olympic movement was a serious candidate for a Nobel Peace Prize.

Although that fancy has come tumbling down there can be no doubt that the International Olympic Committee members, who own the Games, together with the component parts that make up the Olympic family, will try again. They are of course on a pretty rocky course. The next (1988) Summer Games will be in Seoul, South Korea, a nice political hornets' nest. Before that event takes place, though, the IOC has the task of awarding the Games of 1992. There are currently six candidates for the summer celebration — Brisbane, Stockholm, Amsterdam/Rotterdam, Paris, Barcelona and New Delhi. Another six are competing to hold the Winter Games. None of the 12, post-Moscow, has shown a sign of withdrawing so far.

It is this long Olympic pipeline which makes it difficult to bring the whole affair to an end. Seoul have many of their installations built and they are ready to do a television deal. It must of course be worth less than it was but, with tighter insurance safeguards there is still a possibility of topping the ABC figure for Los Angeles which was originally $225m. Now without the Eastern Europeans that is likely to be lopped by $60 million.



Camera Press

Will it blow out?

The International Olympic Committee members sometimes despair about these increasingly regular shock waves. But they also bring a greater resolve to go ahead. With 154 countries, the Olympic family is now the largest organisation in the world. It creates an event which is watched on television by a larger audience, by far, than any other. But the size is also the root cause of the current problem. The Olympic city is a marvellous stage for any kind of demonstration; yet the fact that politicians, cranks, or sharp-shooters want to get in on the act is, in the eyes of most IOC members, a very good reason for continuing to spread their ideal.

There is not much Olympism of the Baron de Coubertin, the founder of the Games, version left. That is no matter. The event continues to generate an enormous amount of enthusiasm in a large number of sports. There are now 21 on the Olympic programme and at Seoul there will be 23, acting as a catalyst for 'Sport for All' ideas throughout the world. Its elitism and its excellence is marvellous entertainment too. It would be unreasonable, therefore, to expect the IOC members, who are the trustees, to hold a winding-up meeting merely because their event attracts ills and ailments, demonstrated elsewhere throughout the four years in between their events.

There is no doubt that commercialism has taken a hold of the Olympic movement. But after 20 years of outmoded amateurism under the presidency of Avery Brundage of the United States, and then a more liberal attitude towards most things from Lord Killanin, the Irish earl, the Olympic movement has now come to terms with commercialism under the presidency of Juan Antonio Samaranch of Barcelona, former member of the Cortez (Spanish parliament), and former Spanish ambassador to Moscow. Samaranch has never liked the idea that the Olympics were almost wholly owned by an American television company, ABC. He has now instituted a committee to find ways and means of raising new finance, such as selling the Olympic rings and putting a high price on the reproduction of archive Olympic film.

Like a good many of his members, he is aware that if the IOC were to lie down and die quietly, rushing to the graveside would be some of the world's sporting entrepreneurs, such as Patrick Nally (of the London-based sports management organisation West Nally), Mark McCormack (of International Management Group, which manages such tennis players as Bjorn Borg as well as many golfers) and Horst Dassler (head of Adidas, the world's largest manufacturers of sports goods).

The day after the memorial service for Baron de Coubertin's vision these entrepreneurs, or some like them, would be presenting a package to sport which would be irresistible. Being in the Olympic Games for many sports is manna. They enjoy a slice of the TV coverage rights which individually they could never hope to draw. No TV organisation is going to set up satellite communications for a rowing championship, which in itself can be pretty boring viewing. But spliced with other dramas from the track, basketball and boxing, it takes on a new interest.

If the Games had not been in Los Angeles would the Olympic movement be in this mess? No doubt if the Soviets wanted to smack the Americans and use an Olympic stick to do it, they would not bother about who was the host. But there must now be some misgivings about awarding the Games to LA. In all previous years, the city where they take place has been responsible for the Games. In LA, it's a private consortium, with the profit motive rather than civic pride coming first in everything. It has been a case of LA telling the IOC what to do, not the other way round.

The Russians, of course, are staying strictly out of the political arena on this one; nothing like a boycott over American foreign policy, merely a 'no' on grounds of deviation from the Olympic Charter. No doubt, if the IOC play along with them at this weekend's meetings in Lausanne, the Russians will spell out the LA ills and their own demands for coming back — tighter security; the Soviet ship to be their village, with helicopters ferrying the athletes; and the one that Reagan cannot come up with, rounding up all those fringe groups parading about the city with sinister signs about keeping the Ruskies out and letting the defectors in.

It is of course difficult to talk too much about security measures. But when the Games are held in a country which has recently lost to the gunmen one president, his brother, Martin Luther King and almost Reagan himself, the Russians do have a point.

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WEST GERMANY 1

The 35-hour showdown

Denis MacShane looks at a union with the bit between its teeth

Stuttgart

MINERS STRIKING against pit closures in Britain, car-workers occupying Citröen in France and now the world's largest union launches a strike in West Germany for a 35-hour week; industrial Europe is in for a hotter-than-usual summer.

The strike by the 2.5 million strong IG Metall engineering union began quietly enough this week when about 15,000 workers were pulled out from key motor components firms. But strike votes in regions covering nearly half a million workers have shown an 80 per cent majority in favour of strike action and with more than £100 million in a strike fund the union is prepared for a bitter fight, including — if necessary — mass pickets to stop supplies getting into striking plants.

Observers of Germany's traditionally well-behaved industrial relations scene are trying to work out why the country is heading towards what could be Europe's biggest post-war industrial confrontation. The union's claim for a 35-hour week is based on the idea that it will create — or at least preserve — jobs, while the employers counter that it would make production costs uncompetitive compared with the rest of Europe and Japan.

But underneath the rhetoric is a much stronger political point. Germany is slowly sloughing off a consensual skin grown in the years of centrist government from Adenauer to Schmidt. And it is this strike which is expected to expose the exact role and strength of the trade unions.

The call for a 35-hour week is not new. It was part of a union claim in 1979 but the union agreed to shelve it until 1984. Supported by the other German unions, especially the print union IG Druck, which is also taking strike action this week, the need to break through the 40-hour week barrier has assumed almost fetish-like proportions. For 12 months IG Metall has been campaigning vigorously with demonstrations, street-car posters and even a rock concert with Joan Baez.

The employers have made clear that for them the 40-hour week is the Stalingrad around which they fight and fall. In this they are backed by the Kohl government, which has broken the traditional Bonn position of staying aloof from industrial fights. Chancellor Kohl has publicly attacked the unions, calling them 'dumb and stupid'.

Post-war industrial relations in Germany have been marked by periodic upheavals, from a mass campaign with the threat of an all-out strike to maintain union parity on the boards of the steel and coal companies in 1950 through major strikes in the 70s which awarded the German metalworker (including some 250,000 foreign members of IG Metall) the highest pay in Europe. The unions have also won the right — against strong employer opposition — to be represented on the boards of large private

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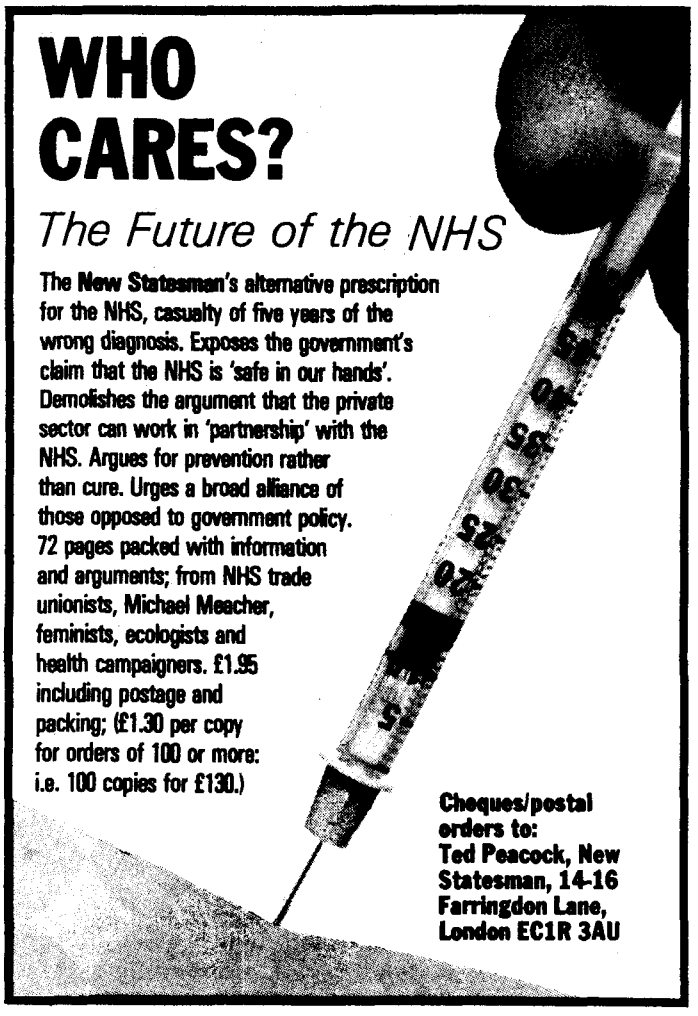

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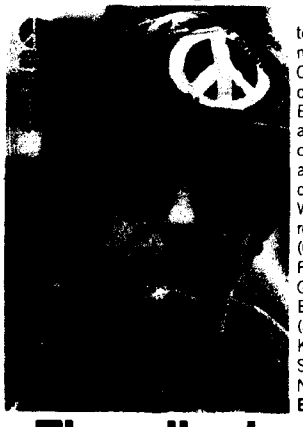

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companies since 1975.

But the crux is that the right-wingers in the Kohl coalition would like to dismantle the whole structure of union representation and regional bodies. In the German media Mrs Thatcher gets more coverage than any other foreign politician. In many circles there is open admiration for what she has done to weaken British trade unions and a clear desire to follow her example. Germany has nearly 10 per cent unemployment and the unions know they are not in a seller's market. But if they go down on this fight, then the whole balance of power in West Germany will be decisively moved to the Right. The long-term implications of that should worry anyone who recalls what happened the last time German workers were cowed and beaten. □

WEST GERMANY 2

Fudge will sweeten SPD

The SPD have achieved unity through a compromise over the Euromissiles, reports Tony Paterson

Bonn

WEST GERMANY'S Social Democratic Party appears to have so far escaped the crisis of blood-letting that habitually afflicts parties of the Left when they are forced into opposition. When the party meets this weekend for its second major conference since being ousted by Chancellor Helmut Kohl's conservative Christian Democratic Party in March 1983, it will do so on the most unified basis since it suffered defeat at the polls.

The secret behind this success is largely attributable to the resurrection of former Chancellor Willy Brandt and to subtle changes in previously divisive defence policies for the sake of party unity. Brandt, now 70, is the second longest-serving SPD chairman in party history and has come to be regarded as a kind of folk-hero by the West German Left. He achieved his enormous popularity as Chancellor in the 1970s by pursuing *Ostpolitik*, a policy of reconciliation with the Eastern bloc and East Germany in particular. With the collapse of Helmut Schmidt's coalition in October 1982, the SPD was — and still is — deprived of a new natural leader. Brandt, in the interim, has moved in to fill that gap, capitalising on the folk-hero image.

The process began last year when Brandt agreed to speak at a major peace rally against the deployment of American Pershing II missiles in West Germany. He reinforced his position by speaking against Schmidt and by voicing SPD opposition to missile deployment at a special party conference in Cologne last November. The move ended years of doubt as to where the SPD actually stood on disarmament and brought the party out firmly against deployment. The idea of linking Europe even more closely with the USA through the 'two-track' policy of deployment plus talks was personally originated by Schmidt in 1979, despite growing opposition to nuclear weapons inside the party.

As a result of the SPD's new stance, the anti-nuclear Green Party moved into a more extreme position, going on to vote for West Germany's withdrawal from NATO.

At the weekend the SPD will again be searching for a fresh approach to defence, but this time the emphasis is likely to be on commitment to remaining in the NATO alliance, with opposition to missiles taking second place. Demanding the immediate withdrawal of Pershing II has been rejected as unrealistic. A team of three, the party's arms control expert Egon Bahr, the former pro-Schmidt defence minister Hans Apel and one of the party's most fervently anti-nuclear members, Oskar Lafontaine, have produced a report entitled 'War Prevention in the Atomic Age'. This will now form the central plank of future party defence policy.

The party is adopting the arguments of the American Freeze movement and is also considering calling for a moratorium on missile deployment, as advocated by the Italian Prime Minister Bettino Craxi. Brandt's vision is to create a nuclear-free Europe and to develop greater West European independence within NATO. As one SPD member put it: 'We think that current US policy is wrong, and we want a European voice that can say so within the alliance.'

The SPD's restraint over defence is due partly to the Greens, who have become a mouthpiece for anti-NATO sentiment. The SPD is anxious to distance itself from them. More importantly the SPD is worried about frightening off potential voters with unilateralist policies, which are instantly viewed with alarm in a NATO front-line state like West Germany.

Many in the party believe the Greens will be wiped off the political map in 1987. Others, more realistically, assume the party is here to stay and do not rule out the possibility of a future co-operative pact with the Greens in any future SPD-Green government. In the state of Hesse, the precedent has already been set. Greens and the SPD have agreed to co-operate in the state parliament, but the arrangement remains plagued by disputes and nobody is sure whether 'co-operation' is ultimately workable.

More seriously, the SPD lacks an effective candidate for Chancellor. Party members readily admit that the current SPD parliamentary leader Hans-Jochen Vogel, who ran for the chancellorship and was defeated in March last year, is a lacklustre academic figure who is not sufficiently popular among voters to run again. The leadership is now considering Johannes Rau, the SPD's leader in North Rhine Westphalia. Both Vogel and Rau suffer the disadvantage of being heirs to Helmut Schmidt, who, despite being ousted from power in October, remained the public's most popular choice for chancellor for over six months afterwards. Meanwhile, Willy Brandt's powerful charismatic hold on the party must be running out of time. □

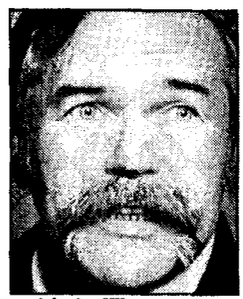
CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Price of peace

Jan Kavan on the latest attempt to stifle dialogue

FORMER CHARTER 77 spokesperson Ladislav Lis is once again under arrest and this week started a hunger strike.

Lis, aged 58, was only released by Czechoslovak authorities on 5 March this year after serving a 14 month sentence for 'distribution of materials of an inciting character against the socialist state system'. The political reasons for his imprisonment were his Charter 77 activities and his promotion of a dialogue with the Western peace Movement (*New Statesman* 22 July 1983).



Lis was subject to a three year 'preventive surveillance' order when he was re-arrested last week on the pretext of breaking the order. Under its conditions he had to report daily to the police, allow them entry to his flat without a warrant at any time and inform them of all his income and his every movement.

According to first reports from Prague, the actual charge this time was 'obstructing the implementation of an official decision', which carries a sentence of up to five years. Under the terms of the surveillance order, Lis was only required to 'inform the relevant bodies of his departure' if he intended to leave Prague. But in fact he had been forced to stay in his neighbourhood during the day and in his house all evening. This meant that even to go to the cinema, let alone leave Prague, Lis had to request special permission at least two weeks in advance.

After increased police harassment in recent days, Lis obviously decided to make a stand on the terms of the order. So when he went to his small farmhouse in northern Bohemia for a long weekend earlier this month, he simply informed the police of his intention and undertook to report daily to local police — but he did not request special permission. He was arrested shortly after his return to Prague.

Despite bad health, Lis began a hunger strike on 14 May, protesting at his unlawful arrest. Charter 77 sources say that one of the main reasons why Lis received 'only' 14 months last time was the widespread publicity (*NS* 4 February and 13 May 1983) and protest by many European peace groups, including European Nuclear Disarmament.

Lis is at the forefront of the dialogue between Charter 77 and the Western peace movement and the aim of the order is clearly to make that dialogue more difficult. □

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LETTERS

Being nice to the customers

James Ogilvy-Webb, Public Enterprise Group

Geoff Hodgson in his criticism of Labour's paternalism and its traditional programme of nationalising large key industries says that the only way the public is likely to recognise a need for an extension of common ownership is through an extension of participatory democracy (*NS* 4 May).

The Public Enterprise Group has no doubts about the unpopularity of some of the big nationalised industries. But, like so much revisionist thinking at the moment, Hodgson's views give no consideration to the reasons for this country's increasing relative poverty.

Most European democracies have a substantial public sector and take it for granted that it is necessary. Even the German Federal Republic would think it insane to privatise its telecommunications system. It so happens, moreover, that Sweden, Germany, France, Belgium and Holland have a much larger GNP per head than the UK.

Our relative economic failure is due to the backwardness and inefficiency of the private sector. As for the steel and shipbuilding industries the act of nationalisation constituted a rescue operation. They had shown themselves backward and uncompetitive under private ownership. It will take a long time and a lot of money to reverse the situation. British Leyland collapsed because of private management's defects and is now improving with the aid of a lot of government investment.

Nationalised industries are unpopular because several have retail relations with the public. People don't like the Electricity Board's way of treating overdue accounts any more than they like the old-fashioned bureaucracy of council estate management. But councils are making great efforts to improve things by decentralisation. The nationalised industries could as easily improve their relations with the public by suitable training of their employees in the technical aspects of their jobs.

Hodgson is right about the importance of participation. It is something that good management will promote and thrive on. But participation is not inconsistent with economic efficiency and some organisations need to be large. British Telecom will have to compete internationally and by international standards it is not large. Rolls-Royce is showing signs of being too small and so is British Leyland.

It is not necessary to agree with the Institute of Economic Affairs about the efficiency of markets. Markets are a useful indicator of the current relations between supply and demand. But they are demonstrably hopeless at taking long-term views. Why, otherwise, is the present British government being forced to invest in the production of silicon chips?

Large organisations need to be controlled democratically, both to ensure that they are efficient and to prevent their becoming interested primarily in the exercise of power (which is more of a danger in the private sector, where there are fewer institutional restraints). If we can improve participation through the successful operation of cooperatives we should do so. But do not let us separate our thinking from that of the rest of democratic Europe with a return to economic hobbitry.

Saving lives — six days a week

Jon Smith, Renal Unit, St James Hospital, Leeds

I read your article 'A private way to stop kidney deaths' (*NS* 4 May) with interest. The scheme proposed by KRUF (Kidney Research Unit Foundation) of dialysing six days of the week until the early hours of the morning is already in operation in this hospital and has been for some years. The practice of using each dialysis machine to its capacity is not commonplace — only five such units were identified in a recent survey published in *The Lancet* (31.3.84). The adoption of such a scheme by other units (with no further capital cost) would enable the dialysis population to be doubled.

For the record

Ruth Petrie, Virago Press, London WC2

We were delighted that the *New Statesman* devoted so much space to sex (*NS* 23 March). Can we just correct several points in Adrianne Blue's review of *Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*?

We did indeed truncate the American title *Powers of Desire* to plain, upfront *Desire*, not because, as Adrianne suggests, we were side-stepping sado-masochistic inferences in the original. It doesn't strike us that either title says more or less about the issue.

And nor are 100 pages of the book taken up with s/m: one of the six sections is titled 'Domination, Submission and the Unconscious' — it, like the entire book, engages with wide questions of power in sexuality, not just with the specific questions around sado-masochism. As to whether it's over-emphasised in current American feminist debate, perhaps you'd devote another 'sex' page to that question?

Changing charges at Greenham

Jane Marshall, London SW4

I am very concerned by the alteration of charges of criminal damage against Gloria Delmonte and Jill Morony brought by the Ministry of Defence Police arising out of the major demonstration of 2,000 women at Greenham Common on 29 October 1983.

The original charge of £25 criminal damage against Gloria and Jill, alleging that each pulled down one section of the nine-mile perimeter fence, was altered to a charge of joint enterprise in pulling down 81 sections of fence equivalent in value to £5,397.65. Neither Gloria nor Jill nor their barrister was given notice of the alteration before their appearance in Newbury Magistrates' Court on 15 March 84 for trial on the original charge. They now await trial in Reading Crown Court, having elected to be tried by jury.

The failure of the prosecution to inform the defendants and their counsel of the amended charges is as outrageous as the amendments themselves. These refer to the location of the offence at a completely different grid-reference point of the fence to that in the original charge and where the women were arrested.

Five other women arrested that day with Gloria and Jill were released without charge, as were many others that day — while the majority of those against whom charges have been pressed, have found that the prosecution has lessened or dropped charges in order to obstruct defendants electing Crown Court where applicable.

Gloria and Jill are the last two women to be processed by the courts from the action on 29 October. The manipulation of charges is blatant. Is this common procedure, or a specific response to the women of Greenham Common?

Breakdown of law in Sudan

Peter Holly, Deganwy, Gwynedd

At last the *New Statesman* turns to the Sudan, and Suzanne Cronje should be congratulated for her article (4 May). However, the declaration of a state of emergency in the country must be seen not only as a reaction to increased SPLA activity, but also as a response to the virtual breakdown of the legal system.

Sharia Law, as was widely reported, saw the introduction of the controversial 'hadd' punishments sanctioned by the Koran, for theft, drink, adultery and murder; but these have been a notable failure. Not only did the hypocrisy and inequality of the law become more apparent, (a corrupt government official can embezzle and be protected — a common thief will be punished); but the eight months since the introduction of Sharia have gradually seen the punishments themselves fall out of favour with those who are supposed to implement them. This has happened to the extent that for some crimes, there is now no punishment considered effective.

It is not just in the south of the country that Sharia Law is resented. Many Sudanese are against it and Nimieri's regime — but until now, his purges have been so effective and his political manoeuvres so cunning, that they have been denied any political alternative in the form of an effective opposition.

The resentment at Nimieri and his government is, of course, especially noticeable in the south of the country, but the introduction of Sharia was the last straw — it is, in any case, widely disregarded there. It came on top of what many southerners saw as a 'divide and rule' regionalisation policy and even an attempt at changing the regional boundaries to bring the Chevron oil discoveries under northern control! Egypt has actively helped Nimieri in this area, supplying helicopter gunships and pilots to machine-gun what the same pilots described as 'cattle stealers' in the south in August/September 1982. There are, at present, Egyptian soldiers stationed in the Sudan, presumably to counter the large proportion of Nimieri's army of southern origin — many of them working away from their homelands, struggling to support their families from a distance.

Nimieri has tried everything from Communism to his current holier-than-thou brand of Islam; but all these changes have been to camouflage the

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fundamental economic problems faced by the country he governs. Reagan should be giving aid to help stop this country of great agricultural potential turning into desert, not speeding the process by propping up a disintegrating regime with his AWACs, tanks and jet fighters. But, unfortunately for Sudan and for Africa (fortunately for Nimieri), 1984 is an election year.

Hierarchy 'n' discipline

Andrew Belsey, Cardiff

Paul Rowntree (Letters 13 April) has invented what is merely a new variant of 'law 'n' order' — 'hierarchy and discipline'.

Though he uses this phrase no less than five times in a short letter, he does not appear to have thought very deeply about it. 'Hierarchy and discipline are perfectly natural tendencies for human beings to display', he tells us, thus contradicting what he had said a moment earlier about their *social* origins. Besides, it's obvious that 'hierarchy' is not a behavioural tendency at all, but is a forced relationship that puts people in positions of superiority and subordination. It is a concept of unequal power that socialists should be very wary of. As for 'discipline', this can mean so many different things — violent enforcement of authority, psychological moulding, self-control — that again it's not a concept that is likely to commend itself to socialists.

Of course socialists, feminists and peace campaigners do face important and difficult questions about how to organise their lives and reorganise society, but these questions are unlikely to be answered by unthinking appeals to 'hierarchy 'n' discipline'.

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Last week we published a letter from **7:84 Theatre Company England** asking for support in their campaign to overturn the Arts Council decision to cut their grant. 7:84's full address was omitted. It is: **Unit 407, 31 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1.**

Information wanted

Judith Cook, 5 Tolcarne Terrace, Newlyn, Penzance, Cornwall

May I ask for some assistance through your columns? I'm currently working on a book on the need for a Freedom of Information Act in this country. I'm interested to hear from anybody who may have found out that wrong information, detrimental to them, has been held on file either by national or local authorities or in private industry. I'd like to know what kind of information this was and how the person concerned found out. All such information will be treated in the strictest confidence.

FEEDBACK

Unions disunited

THE JUNE 1983 election result came as a profound shock to the Labour movement and, as you suggested in your leader on Len Murray's retirement (*NS* 4 May), to the trade union wing of it in particular. It had discovered that only 39 per cent of its members had voted for the Labour Party. The trauma was heavy, the more so for the unexpected nature of the findings: yet in hindsight there should have been no surprise — union members had been paying less and less attention to their unions over the previous decade. Like dogs confronted with an aggressive cat, unions collectively turned their heads and wished the problem away. But the 1983 election wasn't a one off — it was an integral part of a smooth continuum.

Union members no longer act on the advice of their unions, or to be more precise they take less notice of the advice than in the past. It is however too simplistic to blame this on the general secretaries or presidents — single figureheads. Most decisions within unions of any consequence are taken increasingly by collectives — executives, general councils or whatever local or national committee is responsible. A major gap has opened between the ordinary members and the activists, the shop stewards and the delegates, and it is a gap that is widening to frightening proportions. In addition, the general secretaries have different perceptions of their own and their unions' roles to those of their activists. Ordinary members also tend to disagree with their general secretaries, although less so than with their activists.

MORI polls taken in 1981 and at the end of 1983 show these chasms yawning. Eighty-three per cent of union members think that unions are 'essential', but union activists have failed to convince their members that they should continue as at present. Every single union has urged its members to oppose the present government's industrial relations policies and legislation. Despite this, less than a third of union members would defend secondary picketing and only 39 per cent would support a closed shop. Almost 40 per cent of union members believe that a mass picket is *never* justified (this poll was taken before the current NUM publicity) and half of the union members believe that unions should not have political funds. Three quarters of the members want secret ballots before strikes, over 80 per cent want elections to be held by postal ballots and 70 per cent support the proposal to have 10-yearly ballots on the maintenance or otherwise of political funds. This is hardly representative of the trade union activist's view of the current problems and the needs of unions.

In 1981 the survey showed that the differences between the rank-and-file and the people that they elected, the activists, were greater than those between the rank-and-file and the general secretaries many of whom are appointed. The same study also highlighted differences between activists and general secretaries. When faced with the statement that 'large companies' were essential to the country's health, three quarters of the rank-and-file agreed; almost three quarters of the General Secretaries agreed; but less than half of the activists. When asked if company profits were too low (a favourite theory of the time) 57 per cent of general secretaries and 66 per cent of the rank-and-file agreed; but only 28 per cent of activists. Conversely, when asked if nationalisation was a good thing almost 90 per cent of activists, half of the general secretaries, but only a quarter of the rank-and-file agreed. Given that the rank-and-file elected the activists there is a startling mismatch of opinions. Asked who they thought was the most impressive union official in Britain, the gen. secs. elected Len Murray; the activists, Arthur Scargill. A similar poll today would be most instructive.

Unions rely on representative democracy for their decision making, but this can only work if a large enough sample can make the system truly representative. Small meetings and tiny votes can result in elected activists not even having to pretend to be a true reflection of their electorates' views. This, combined with general secretaries spending increasing amounts of time at the TUC at committees and discussing matters of only peripheral interest to activists, who rarely if ever see the committee papers anyway, is leading to a very divided movement. This is nothing new except that the divisions are increasingly within rather than between unions. The only people who can benefit from this are the employers.

Barrie Sherman

Barrie Sherman, formerly Director of Research at ASTMS, is now a writer and makes films for television.

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Campaign Guide

Camera Press

HOW MANY people either know or care who their Euro-MP is? The answer is very few and with good reason. For the European Parliament has so far proved to be an almost entirely powerless institution. There were hopes that when the British joined (with their supposedly great parliamentary tradition) or that, when MEPs became directly elected instead of just being appointed, there would be an increase of interest by the ordinary citizen in its affairs and a corresponding increase in its political legitimacy. Instead, as is usually the case with international institutions which lack power or real work, Strasbourg has settled for unending committees and ostentatiously high living.

Little wonder, therefore, that the main political parties are having difficulty drumming up much interest in the Euro-elections to be held on 14 June. The EEC has a mechanism for creating Community legislation, but it is not the European Parliament. It is the Council of Ministers, meeting in secret and unaccountable to the European Parliament, which it has generally treated with disdain.

Yet for all that there are two reasons why a vote on 14 June is significant. First, the Euro-election will be a unique national referendum of the present standing of the parties at home. And in practice, though they have cobbled together Euro-manifestos, that is how both Labour and the Tories are running their Euro-campaigns. The most important political figures on 14 June will be the parties' shares of the total popular vote, not the number of MEPs each manages to get elected. In this popularity contest there is no point in tactical voting. A Labour vote in Cornwall or a Tory vote in Blaenau Gwent will not be 'wasted', in the sense that they are in ordinary general elections. If the Tories have any significance majority of the popular vote on 14 June it will be taken by them and the media as important further endorsement of Thatcherite *domestic* policy.

That is the narrow and short-term reason for using the ballot. But there is also a longer term reason for wanting to get progressive MEPs returned to Strasbourg. The record of the Parliament may not have been distinguished to date and its powers many be consultative and propagandist, rather than legislative. But it is the only European institution where even now the socialists are the largest grouping. In a Europe currently dominated by figures like Chancellor Kohl, Mrs Thatcher and an increasingly unsocialist President Mitterrand, it is at least an established island of progressive politics on which to build.

In the inward looking defeatism that Thatcherism has introduced in this country, we tend to be ignorant of the fact that in a whole range of policies our European partners, even those with conservative governments, are now much more progressive than we are. Such minor advances in social policy as are being forced on our present government — such as improving the position of women under the Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts — are the result of British legislation being found inadequate in terms of EEC directives. Other legislation of this kind is being actively pursued in Strasbourg — for example on statutory rights to paid parental leave (already in force in Belgium, France and Italy) and rights for those doing temporary or part-time work. So, too, are proposals for forcing multinational companies to provide their employees with proper information and for all companies above a certain size to provide for the interests of employees to be properly represented on their boards.

In the past these are other proposals have been damagingly watered down as they passed through Strasbourg. The socialist group at Strasbourg is not going to change the face of British or European politics overnight. But, to put it at its lowest, an enlarged and effective socialist group there could, over the next decade, provide pressure for a new social and economic radicalism of which there is little if any sign as yet in Britain itself.

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New vision of a socialist Europe

John Palmer

The Right has failed in the historic task of building a united Europe. But can the Left in Britain overcome the parochialism of the 'in or out' debate? Or will there be a retreat into nationalism?

THOSE who wrote the Treaty of Rome and built the institutions of the European Community did not intend that they should be instruments for the building of a socialist Europe. Products of the period of post-war high boom and unbounded confidence that free trade and the free movement of capital would provide the foundations of European union, the Treaty and the institutions reflect the economic and political domination of Capital.

It is true that the EEC always has had — and still does have — 'a progressive face'. It was built during a period when the European establishment felt the need for 'parternship' with the leaders of labour to ensure social and political stability. This continues to give the Commission and even the European Court a modest bias towards social reform.

By the goals set by the Founding Fathers of the EEC the experiment has been a qualified failure. It is a failure to the extent that free trade and free movement of capital — during both periods of boom and slump — have proved incapable of propelling the Common Market towards anything remotely resembling a United Europe.

Even within that very limited geographical definition of 'Europe' encompassed within the EEC, the past decade has seen regression, even incipient Balkanisation, as political nationalism has reasserted itself. European multi-national capital is deeply complicit with the world-wide operations of dominant American and Japanese capital and this has reduced the EEC to a mainly passive role during the present global economic crisis.

At a political level this has been reflected in the indecision and subservience of the West European establishment in securing any significant degree of independence from the United States. Despite deepening differences and conflicts of interest over economic, financial, trade, foreign policy and security issues, the EEC remains a timid and compliant junior in the 'Atlantic Partnership'.

In short, the Right has failed in the historic task of building a united Europe. The present crisis throughout the EEC also highlights the inability or unwillingness of the leaderships of the official Left to recognise that organised labour will not be able to counter the right-wing campaign to role back decades of reforms, democratic rights and improved living standards, unless it is able to present a European alternative.

The need for a socialist European strategy is not some kind of progressive (but essentially optional) extra to be tacked on to the end of a national struggle for power. Rather the European working class will not be able to hold and exercise power and lay the basis for a democratic economic and social order unless it can do so, sooner rather than later, on a European basis.

None of this is to suggest that the task of building a socialist Europe is a simple matter of 'controlling' the Commission, or winning a majority in the almost totally toothless European Parliament, or even just electing 'left' national governments to provide a majority in the Council of Ministers. If a European

Forward March of the Left halted?

SINCE the last European Parliament elections in 1979, socialist parties have come to power in France, Italy and Greece, and formed a governing coalition in Ireland. Only in France has the taint of office set back the 'red tide' sweeping through southern Europe.

President Mitterrand's well advertised difficulties with his Communist coalition partners and the failure of 'reflation in one country' have put the Parti Socialiste on the defensive, while the French Communist party's vote is collapsing in the Paris 'Red Belt' on the evidence of this month's municipal elections. On the other hand, the opposition have scored an own goal by uniting to put forward a joint list (all continental European countries vote for a party rather than a candidate and seats are allocated to those on the 'party list', starting from the top, according to the number of votes). Opinion polls showed that more supporters of the UDF or the Gaullists will be put off by the association with the other party than will be attracted by the impressive display of anti-Left solidarity.

In Italy, premier Craxi's relatively small and right-wing Partito Socialista is expected to make substantial gains, while in Greece Papandreou's ruling Socialist party has been riding high since coming to power in 1981, at the same time as Greece's first Euro-election. Then, there was marked differential voting, with electors preferring smaller parties (Communists, Social Democrats) for the European Parliament, but switching to the two main parties for the domestic contest.

The Irish Labour Party, Garret FitzGerald's junior coalition partner, cannot expect to repeat 1979's startling result, which gave it the same number of seats as Fine Gael with half as many votes (so much for the 'proportional representation' of the Single Transferable Vote, which is how both parts of Ireland elect their MEPs).

The two major countries where the socialists are in opposition present completely different pictures. In West Germany, 1979 was a good year for the SPD, currently the largest national party in the Socialist group. The party has not yet recovered from last year's general election defeat, and the Kohl government seems to have bulldozed unscathed through a series of scandals. Kohl's Liberal coalition partners could be threatened by the 5 per cent threshold required to obtain Euro-seats, while the Greens, who got 5.6 per cent last year could break through (Ecologists are also within striking distance of Parliament in France, where the threshold is also 5 per cent).

But if the SPD is the most anxious of the socialist delegations, the British Labour Party — for whom 1979 was a disaster — is looking to make big gains. Because the constituency boundaries have been redrawn, Labour stands to gain two seats even if it only gets the 32 per cent it got last time. (Plus the Nottingham seat of Michael Gallagher, who defected to the SDP this January.) Last week's Marplan poll suggests a 7-point swing from Tory to Labour (with the SDP/Liberal Alliance making only a marginal improvement on the Liberals' 1979 performance), equivalent to a gain of a further 15 seats for Labour. This would give the Labour Party 34 seats — double what it managed to salvage from the wreckage of the first Thatcher victory five years ago.

In Denmark and the three Benelux countries, little overall change is expected. In the Netherlands a great deal depends on the outcome of the cruise missiles decision, to be taken just before the elections.

The optimistic school of the Socialist group assesses the prospects as gains in Britain, Italy and Greece, only partly offset by losses in Germany and France. The pessimistic school, however, points to the problem of a likely lower turnout. As in Britain, the lower the poll, the worse it is for the Left. In Britain itself, this is not such a problem, because the turnout last time was so low (in two London Euro-constituencies only 20 per cent), but in France and Germany there is a feeling of some disillusionment with the European Community which could combine with the recent resurgence of chauvinism to keep the voters at home.

This problem is less likely to affect Belgium, Greece, Italy and Luxembourg, where voting is either compulsory or considered to be a civic duty.

The June 1979 Euro-election result

	Percentage of total vote	*Number of seats*
Socialists	27%	113
Christian Democrats	30%	107
Conservatives	6%	64
Communists	14%	44
Liberals	10%	40
Progressives	4%	22
Others	5%	19

Since 1979 there have been a few changes and defections, and in 1981 Greece joined the EEC. The current position is shown in the diagram (opposite).
Details of parties, voting and seats in each country, p.vii

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economy based on democratic planning and the satisfying of need rather than private profit is to be introduced, we shall need very different European institutions and a totally new kind of Treaty.

A HINT of the kind of movement needed to build such a new Europe and the kind of politics which prefigures it can be perceived in the European nuclear disarmament movement, in the growing links between trade unions across national frontiers, coordinating their response to capital's onslaught on jobs and rights, and in the struggle of ecological, feminist and civil rights activists on a European basis.

In a very diluted and bureaucratic way, some of these priorities have found reflection in the recent programme of action of the European TUC. But much more work needs to be done to flesh out in greater detail programmes and campaigns which can turn the potential of European working class and socialist unity into reality. European Left local authorities can also play an important enabling role to help this process, as the GLC has demonstrated.

Why, for instance, should not the campaign in defence of public spending as well as social and welfare rights include the demand for a common standards (at the highest national level) for all such payments? It is a demand which millions of working people who have been told of the immutable EEC laws on common free trade and competition rules would see makes obvious sense.

The demand for common welfare rights would, incidentally, be a far more radical solution to the problem of inequity in the pattern of national payments to and receipts from the EEC than anything proposed by Margaret Thatcher or the Labour Party leaders. It would, however, only be possible by demanding bigger — not smaller — non-agricultural spending by the EEC.

The Left has every interest in pressing for more not less spending on social, industrial, regional and other non-farm policies, even within the existing EEC framework. Such a campaign, linked to demand for the implementation of the Commission's directive on workers' rights to information, would help realign the political debate on Europe into a more normal Left/Right mode and free it from the present stultifying parochialism of the British/EEC debate.

The Euro-elections offer one significant platform from which these and a myriad of other ideas can be canvassed, while the Strasbourg Assembly should be seen mainly as providing resources for conducting that work throughout Europe for any socialists who find themselves elected. In the meantime, the issue of EEC withdrawal is a nationalist diversion to the construction of such European socialist politics. Whether or not it is a demand which will have to be raised again in future years will depend on how successful the Left is in raising its sights above the parochial trough to grasp the challenge. □

John Palmer is a member of the Europe working group of the Socialist Society, which is holding a conference on a European socialist strategy at Caxton House, London N19 on Saturday, 2 June. Details from Socialist Society, 9 Poland Street, London W1.

Euro-factions

THE SOCIALIST group is the largest and most coherent group in the 434-member Parliament, and is the only group with representatives from all member states. Together with the Communists, it forms the most effective bloc, with 40 per cent of the seats. The three main right-wing groups would have a majority of just one seat if they voted together, but are split both internally and between themselves.

The European Community socialist *parties*, as opposed to MEPs, are also organised in the 'Confederation', which includes the socialist parties of Spain and Portugal — in anticipation of their entry, which will further strengthen the Socialist group. The joint socialist manifesto was drawn up by the Confederation.

One of the right-wing groups, the 'European Democrats', is internally cohesive — because 97 per cent of it is the British Tory party. But the Christian Democrats, dominated by the Italians and Helmut Kohl's CDU, stretches politically from the CDU's right-wing Bavarian partner, Franz Josef Straus's CSU, to the faintly left-of-centre Dutch Christian Democrats, who are equivocating over cruise missiles.

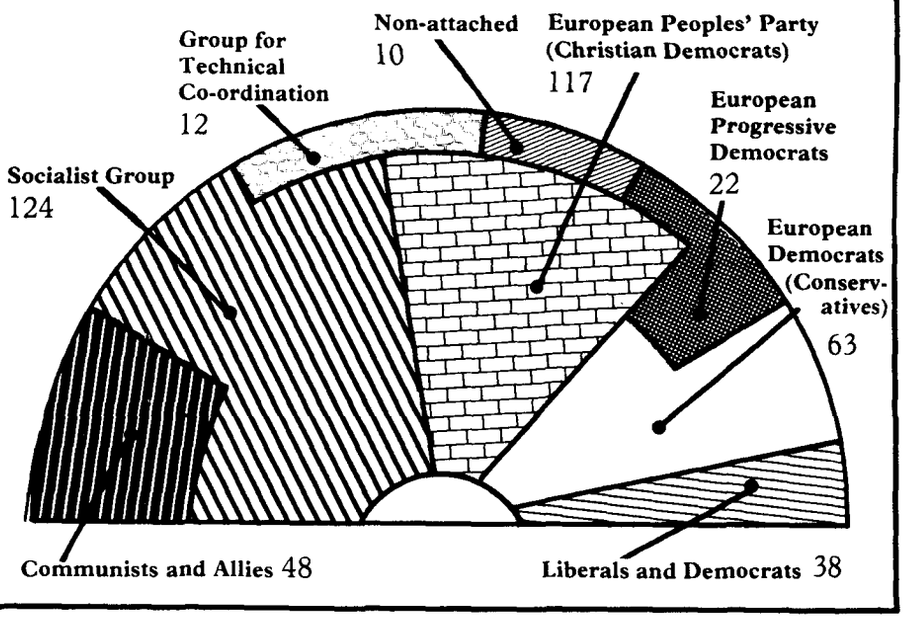
The British Conservatives have always refused to join the Christian Democratic 'European Peoples' Party', partly because their brand of Protestant nationalism is at odds with continental federalism based on a common Roman Catholic heritage. The immediate practical obstacle to unity is British opposition to the Common Agricultural Policy.

The third right-wing group, the European Liberals, is seated on the extreme right of the chamber, which is a clue to the fact that in Europe the term 'Liberal' is generally applied to the party to the right of the Christian Democrats. To get £250,000 from the Liberal group's campaign fund, the British Liberals had to agree to fight the Euro-elections on a monetarist, pro-nuclear weapons, pro-multinationals ticket (see Peter Kellner, p.7). The Liberal group, lacking any clear ideology or religious heritage, is more divided than the Christian Democrats. The largest national group aren't Liberals at all, but the two right-wing factions of the French Giscardian alliance.

The remaining tenth of the Parliament's seats consist mainly of unclassifiables of the right, centre and left (in that order). Half of them are in the European Progressives group, an ironic title for a group two-thirds of whose members are French Gaullists (the rest are the Irish Fianna Fail, a Dane and Scottish Nationalist Winnie Ewing). The other half are divided again, between those who have banded together for the purpose of mutual technical services and to get extra election campaign money, and those who remain completely independent.

One Euro-group which doesn't have any seats in the Parliament, but which is nevertheless fighting the elections on a common programme, and which will be entitled to funds if, as is certain, it gets more than 1 per cent of the vote in at least three countries, is the European Green movement, represented in Britain by the Ecology Party.

The strengths of the political groups and where they sit in the European Parliament



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Euro Battleground

Mary Kaldor

The last thing we need is a purely West European 'defence' policy

THE CAMPAIGN against cruise and Pershing II and for a nuclear-free Europe has irrevocably undermined whatever consensus formerly existed around NATO's military strategy. A broad spectrum of opinion from both Left and Right now agrees that NATO's reliance on American nuclear weapons must be reduced. Proposals for alternative defence arrangements now proliferate. It is, therefore, important that the Left in Europe promotes its *own* ideas for European security.

The key American proposal in this area came from General Rogers, the Supreme Allied Commander Europe. He wants to reduce NATO's reliance on nuclear weapons by a big increase in expenditure on conventional weapons. He is asking European countries to increase military spending by 4 per cent a year in real terms. He plans a new *offensive* conventional capability, known as Follow On Force Attack (FOFA) or Deep Strike, using new technology, known as E.T. or Emerging Technology. In the event of a Warsaw Pact attack, Deep Strike would use cruise or ballistic missiles (like Pershing II or a land-based version of Trident known as Axe), equipped with non-nuclear warheads as destructive as small nuclear weapons (equivalent to a 'few kilotons'), against targets deep inside Warsaw Pact territory. The aim would be to cut attacking Warsaw Pact forces off from reinforcements and supplies. (The Rogers proposals are associated with the new US Army 'doctrine' — AirLand Battle — which combines Deep Strike with the integration of nuclear, conventional and chemical warfighting capacity.) The strategy would appear very threatening to the East, providing good arguments for hawks in the Kremlin who want to increase Soviety military spending.

Deep Strike will be discussed at the next NATO council meeting in June. But it may not be supported by European establishments. Even the British government is hesitant. For one thing, the technology for Deep Strike is American. Some Europeans are touting the utility of the new British-West German-Italian *Tornado* aircraft in a Deep Strike role, but not very convincingly.

Equally, European governments are not prepared to repeat the cruise and Pershing II experience. In the end, few people — not even Richard Perle, President Reagan's leading defence analyst — were prepared to defend the cruise and Pershing II decision on military grounds. Deployment became a matter of political will. NATO had to demonstrate its ability to execute decisions collectively, after President Carter's 'weakness' in postponing the decision to deploy the neutron bomb after protests in Holland and West Germany.

IN PLACE of this American 'technological fix', some Europeans are proposing an 'institutional fix'. There have been a number of suggestions for increased West European defence collaboration, either within the EEC or other West European institutions. President Mitterrand in particular has been calling for the revitalization of the Western European Union (WEU). The WEU brings together parliamentarians from Belgium, West Germany, Italy, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Britain and has a standing Armament Committee, which has achieved little. Mitterrand has chosen the WEU in preference to the EEC as the framework for European defence cooperation, because it excludes Denmark, Greece and Ireland. These countries have vociferously opposed the discussion of 'defence' issues within the EEC. Mitterrand has received some official interest in Britain and enthusiasm from West Germany. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the West German Foreign Minister, has publicly supported the idea and urged that Europe

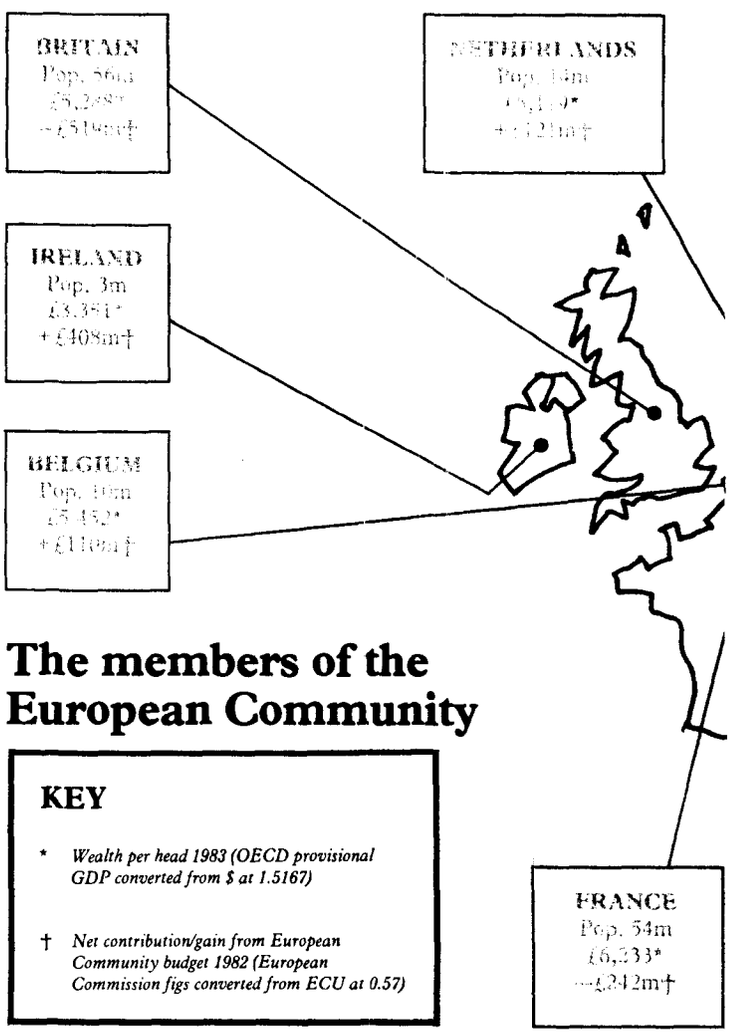
should increasingly speak with one voice within the Alliance. It should identify its common

THE TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS UNION

extends fraternal greetings to the Labour Party Euro-candidates and calls for maximum assistance to be afforded in the forthcoming Euro-election campaign.

Moss Evans
General Secretary

Alex Kitson
Deputy General Secretary



The members of the European Community

KEY

* *Wealth per head 1983 (OECD provisional GDP converted from $ at 1.5167)*

† *Net contribution/gain from European Community budget 1982 (European Commission figs converted from ECU at 0.57)*

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"Women's rights have been reduced, not extended by the Tories – they've even blocked EEC legislation on equality. Women should vote Labour and stop the Tories in their tracks."

MP

Chris Davies/Network

"The health service is one of the nation's greatest assets and it is vital that we stop the Tories dismantling it."

General Secretary, NUPE

Chris Davies/Network

"Food is too dear under present Common Market farm policies and Labour would get food prices down."

Euro-MP

Chris Davies/Network

"Today when the 'ugly face of capitalism' is expressing itself through the policies of the present government, it is imperative that the Labour Party is strong and secure."

Bill Owen, *from Last of the Summer Wine*

Supported by the Socialist Group of the European Parliament.

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Labour's

forward

Vote for Labour on June 14 and you'll be giving the people of Britain your vote of confidence. It will be a vote of confidence in Labour's policies for building a better future in Britain and Europe. We need to create new, secure jobs for the future. And we need a major socialist initiative that will start to put people back to work and renew our shattered industries.

We need to save the health service

Labour is working to save our health service. And Labour is committed to build a better service. The NHS was founded over 35 years ago – on solid foundations of common decency and common sense. That's why it works. Common decency tells us to care for others. Commonsense tells us that a National Health Service is the only efficient way of meeting people's health needs.

Dear

Labour is stronger

Now it's time to translate

build towards a Labour

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June 14th is a day that

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Yours sincerely

Neil Kinnock

Neil Kinnock MP
Leader of the Labour P
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and send us your donati

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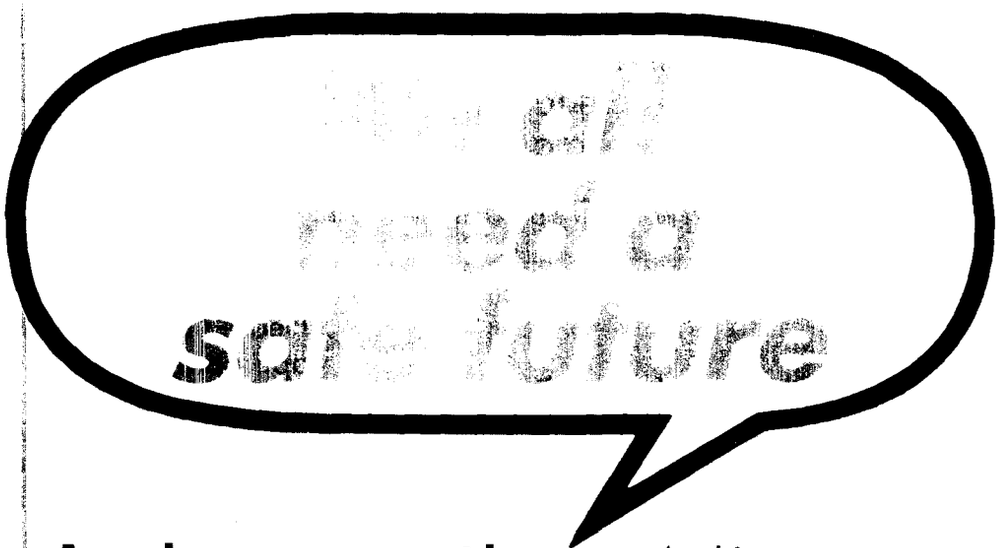
No one can be confident that our freedoms are safe under the present government. Loyal civil servants have been threatened with legal action if they don't obey central government's orders. And the local services we all need are suffering as the government withdraws support from the areas which need it most.



A nuclear war cannot be won. And it must never be fought. The Labour Party is pledged to a non-nuclear defence strategy. We are determined to build effective and modern conventional defences for Britain. Labour is working with peace groups throughout Britain; and working with the governments and people of Europe to build nuclear-free zones, as a step towards making our continent safer.

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JOBS: Labour is working in Europe to lay the foundations for more jobs and more opportunities for the people of Britain.

HEALTH: Labour is campaigning to save our health service – and build a better service that meets the needs of everyone in our communities.

WOMEN: Labour is campaigning for special training that will enable women to work on equal terms with men in the new industries of the future.

TRAINING: Labour will work in Europe for a comprehensive training programme for young people – and secure jobs at the end.

WORK: Labour is pressing for a 35-hour working week without loss of pay to spread the benefits of modern technology.

FOOD: Labour Euro-MPs are working for a fair food policy – and an end to the mountains of surplus Common Market food.

FARMING: Labour is determined to shift the balance of EEC spending – away from agriculture, and towards meeting the needs of people in Britain and Europe.

SERVICES: Labour believes that decent services are the least we can expect in a civilised, modern society.

INVESTING: Labour's policies will put our resources to work efficiently – by investing them in the skills and technologies of the future.

PEACE: Labour is working with people throughout the world who want sanity and security in place of the nightmare insecurity of nuclear weapons.

3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

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Please tick whichever of the boxes below is appropriate:

☐ *I want more information about the EEC elections and what the Labour Party is doing in Europe. Please put me on your* mailing list.

☐ I'm sending £50/£20/£10/£5 to help your campaign to:

☐ defend the health service

☐ make sure Cruise missiles leave Britain

☐ protect the services provided by local government

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security interests. On the matter of its defence too, Europe should close ranks and pool its resources. It must emerge from its role as a lodger in the shelter of American strength and do more to guarantee its own security through its own efforts.

The high-level Franco-German discussions that are now going on might include the possibility of holding the French and British nuclear weapons 'on behalf of Western Europe' — which the French already claim to be doing.

An integrated European defence policy, however, may prove even more difficult to bring about than Rogers' technological fix. If Europeans have difficulty in agreeing about money and agriculture, how much more difficult it will be to agree about military issues.

SO, DESPITE the proliferation of proposals, it looks as though it will be almost impossible to find a new set of defence arrangements that is acceptable to the Reagan Administration, West European establishments, *and* European public opinion. What is required is not so much an alternative *defence* arrangement as an alternative *political* solution to the conflict in Europe.

The American and Franco-German proposals are predicated on the assumption that nothing can be done about the Soviet threat, and that, therefore, the East-West conflict is immutable. An alternative approach is to recognise that the problem is *both* the Western *and* the Soviet threat and the political division of Europe into military blocs, which suppress popular aspirations in different countries and depends on a system of mutual threat. The Soviet 'threat' has much more to do with maintaining control in Eastern Europe than with any grandiose aim of invading or dominating Western Europe. The Western 'threat' provides the legitimation for the Soviet role in Eastern Europe. A political solution to the East-West conflict would make a positive effort through East-West exchange and communication to create an alternative vision of Europe beyond the Cold War — in which Europe speaks not with one or even two, but with many voices. The aim would not be to create a united Europe — East, West or whatever — but to permit economic, social and political diversity which is presently denied by the existence of the military blocs.

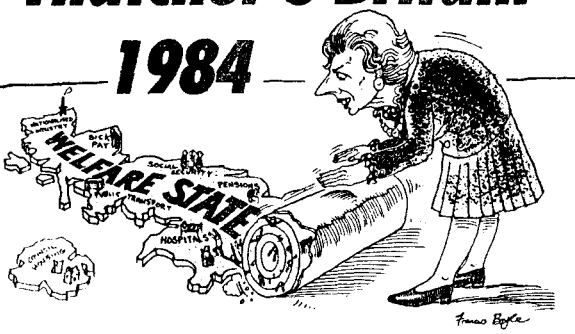
Such a campaign would involve two elements. First, it would require a common campaign within NATO to diminish the Western threat to the East. Ideas about how to maintain a defensive posture based on conventional weapons, without provoking a Soviet response, are now being widely discussed.

Peace movements and socialist parties are already developing common campaigns in relation to NATO's military roles. In Europe, for example, it is important to join the Germans, Dutch and Belgians — our partners in the defence of the German border — in opposing Deep Strike and the implementation of the AirLand Battle concept. A North Atlantic network, bringing together peace movements in Scandinavia, Iceland, the Faroes, Greenland, Canada, the United States, Scotland and Ireland, to oppose new offensive naval developments in the North Atlantic, has already been established.

A second element in the campaign would be new efforts to sustain detente and to move towards new political arrangements for Europe. Increased East-West exchange at all levels of society would be aimed at eroding the dominant role of the military blocs in European politics and culture. Of particular importance is support, from the Left, for movements in Eastern Europe campaigning to diminish the Eastern threat to the West. One of the most heartening developments of the past four years has been the emergence of independent peace movements in East Germany and Hungary. Since the deployment of SS-22 and SS-23 missiles in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, a grass roots peace movement also appears to have developed in Czechoslovakia.

The European Parliament provides a forum within which to push these ideas. This is why the elections on 14 June matter. It is not because defence is an EEC issue: on the contrary, we need to be able to put up a strong opposition in the Parliament to the dangerous current proposals for West European defence 'unity'. The urgent need is to use the Parliament to cooperate with those forces in Western Europe pushing for a political alternative for the *whole* of Europe. Already a small number of MEPs — like Luciana Castellina and Fabrizia Baduel Glorioso from Italy, or Roland Boyes and Ann Clwyd from Britain — have used the resources of the European Parliament to support the campaign against cruise and Pershing II and for a European nuclear-free zone. We need to increase that number. □

Thatcher's Britain 1984



Thatcher's Britain 1984 is the source for the facts and figures that show how deep this government has bitten into the fabric of our society.

Updating the highly successful book published last year, Thatcher's Britain 1984 covers in detail the record of the first year of Mrs Thatcher's second term of office, and exposes the myths on which the Tories have ridden to power.

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The levers of power

Summits, deadlocks, budget tantrums and arguments over butter mountains all take place in the context of institutions whose powers and functions are obscure, administered by bureaucrats world famous for their facelessness. **John Rentoul** presents a grossly oversimplified guide to the Brussels jungle

Commission

The Community's 'management'

A self-directing civil service headed by 14 commissioners (two from each of the major countries and one from each of the smaller ones), who run the Community with 9,500 staff, 1 in 8 of whom work on translation. Like a British cabinet it has a doctrine of collective responsibility which, along with the fact that commissioners can't be got rid of, guarantees unworkability.

Commissioners are appointed by the Council of Ministers, by custom unanimously, on the recommendation of the governments of member states.

It has been the practice for the two British commissioners to represent the government and opposition parties. The present Conservative is Christopher Tugendhat, the budget commissioner, and the Labour one is Ivor Richard, the social affairs commissioner, both former MPs. The 'portfolios' and the presidency of the Commission are in theory 'agreed' by the Council of Ministers, in practice decided by frequently bitter behind-scenes horse-trading. Mrs Thatcher had to threaten, cajole and bully to get the budget portfolio for Tugendhat, while Neil Kinnock is thought to want to replace Richard when his term runs out later this year (Joan Lestor's name has been mentioned as a possible first woman commissioner).

Once appointed, commissioners are miraculously supposed to cease feeling any national or party loyalties. They are not instructed by national governments or held accountable to parties. Their loyalty is to the Community.

The Commission proposes new rules and laws for the Community, according to general policy decisions of the Council of Ministers, which then accepts or rejects the Commission's proposals.

Because it both proposes the law and enforces it, the Commission is the focus for lobbying. The main economic interest groups — employers, trade unions, farmers and consumers — are officially represented on the Economic and Social Committee (ESC), whose role is to 'advise' the Commission and the Council of Ministers. Unofficially, the multinationals in particular pester and pamper individual bureaucrats in an attempt to weaken various proposals to make multinational corporations more accountable to their European workforces.

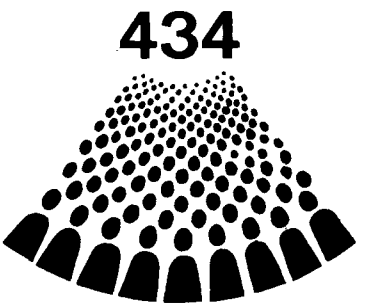
The Commission doesn't have much to do with the Parliament, except when it is asked questions, or when it is squabbling over the budget, because the Parliament's only real sanction (apart from sending the budget back) is to sack the entire Commission by a two-thirds vote.

Council of Ministers

Representing 'national' (government) interests

Three times a year the Council meets as a 'summit' of heads of state/government. Regular meetings are attended by foreign ministers or, depending on the subject under discussion, by the relevant minister (usually agriculture). The chair of the Council, currently France, rotates every six months.

According to the rule book, the Council reaches decisions on most things by a majority vote. In practice there is an unwritten convention, dating from de Gaulle's 'vital interests' veto in 1965, of unanimity in all but administrative decisions, although the use of majority and 'qualified majority' (five-sevenths of weighted votes) decision-making is now coming back.



Parliament

Party political representation

The third and least important of the three main institutions is the Parliament. It is the ideological element in the Community's government, as MEPs are organised on party rather than national lines (except the British Conservatives).

The Parliament cannot pass Community law (that is done by the Council of Ministers), or do anything more to laws and rules proposed by the Commission than 'give its opinion' on them. The Parliament hasn't even got the power to decide where its staff should be based, as the Court of Justice ruled last month. The Parliament sits mainly in Strasbourg, with committee meetings in Brussels, but its secretariat is in Luxembourg. It voted to transfer some officials to Strasbourg and others to Brussels, but was taken to the Court by Luxembourg, which wanted to retain the jobs and prestige.

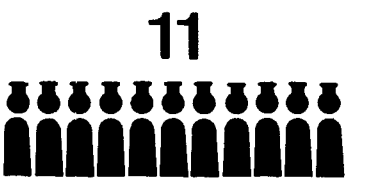
The only important power the Parliament does have, apart from general harassment of the Commission and lobbying the Council of Ministers, is to reallocate bits of the budget. It cannot increase the total size of the budget without the Council's agreement, or mess about with Common Agricultural Policy spending, which is laid down by Community law. But it can propose changes to the other third of the budget, including the social fund and regional aid, and it can go on rejecting the whole budget until the Commission and Council between them come up with something acceptable. The Parliament has done this once, causing financial chaos, in December 1979, in protest at the Council's failure to tackle the problem of runaway CAP spending.

How much cash Euro-MPs get

The overspending that will *not* be an election issue. Salary, same as national parliament, £16,106 for British MPs. Plus:

- An attendance allowance of £72 a day for committee meetings and full sessions, of which there are at least 120 £8,640.
- A travel allowance of 44p per mile for the first 250 miles, 22p a mile thereafter. £143 from London to Strasbourg, one way.
- Up to £27,400 a year for secretarial and office expenses.
- Up to £1,450 a year for other travel in the Community.

All allowances and expenses are tax free.



Court of Justice

Not to be confused with that other ally in the battle against the excesses of the Thatcher government, the European Court of Human Rights, which was set up by the 16 European countries of the Council of Europe in 1953. The Court of Human Rights, based in Strasbourg, is responsible for judgments against birching in the Isle of Man and the British Army in Northern Ireland, and could judge whether Harriet Harman was allowed to give the *Guardian* documents read out in court.

The Court of Justice of the European Communities, on the other hand, is responsible for forcing the British government to bring in a law requiring equal pay for women for work of equal value. It is based in Luxembourg.

But most of its work is concerned with clarifying and enforcing Community law on competition and trade, and giving opinions on cases in national courts.

'Community law' is by now a substantial body of primary, secondary and case law. The 'primary' element consists of the various treaties, principally the Treaty of Rome, and their amendments. The 'secondary' law consists of regulations and directives formulated by the Commission and approved by the Council of Ministers.

Court of Auditors

The Court was set up in 1975, and came into operation in 1977, in response to growing size of the Community budget. When the Parliament was given budgetary powers, it felt the need for a powerful independent auditor. But the Court is not very aggressive, and has failed to counter the widespread impression -- admittedly fostered by abuses it has discovered -- that many farmers and traders are making an illicit fortune by exploiting EEC subsidies. □

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Breakdown of the 1979 result

Country-by-country analysis of the 1979 result (1981 in Greece). First figure is percentage of popular vote, second is number of seats won. Parties' current Euro-alignments are indicated by **S** Socialist, **EPP** European People's Party (Christian Democrat), **D** European Democrats (Conservative), **C** Communist and Allies, **L** Liberal, **P** Progressive, **TC** Group for Technical Coordination (small parties and independents who have banded together for practical rather than ideological reasons), **NA** Non-attached.

UK	*33% turnout*		*81 seats*
Conservatives	48%	60	D
Labour	32%	17	S
Liberals	13%	0	L
Scots Nats	2%	1	P
Dem Unionist (Paisley)	1%	1	NA
SDLP	1%	1	S
Unionist	1%	1	D

West Germany	*66% turnout*		*81 seats*
SPD	41%	35	S
Christian Dem (CDU)	39%	34	EPP
Christian Social (CSU)	10%	8	EPP
Free Democrats (FDP)	6%	4	L
Greens	3%	0	—

France	*61% turnout*		*81 seats*
Giscardians (UDF)	28%	25	15L/ 9EPP
Socialists (PS)	23%	22	S
Communists (PCF)	20%	19	C
Gaullists (Chirac)	16%	15	P
Ecologists	4%	0	—
Trotskyists	3%	0	—

Italy	*86% turnout*		*81 seats*
Christian Democrats	36%	29	EPP
Communists (PCI)	30%	24	C
Socialists (PSI)	11%	9	S
Fascists (MSI)	5%	4	NA
Social Democrats (PDSI)	4%	4	S
Radicals	4%	3	TC
Liberals	4%	3	L
Republicans	3%	2	L
Proletarian Unity	1%	1	TC
Proletarian Dem	1%	1	TC
S Tyrol Peoples' P	1%	1	EPP

Netherlands	*58% turnout*		*25 seats*
Christian Democrats	36%	10	EPP
Labour	30%	9	S
Liberals	16%	4	L
Dem '66 (Soc Dem)	9%	2	NA

Belgium	*91% turnout*		*24 seats*
2 Christian Dem parties	38%	10	EPP
2 Socialist parties	23%	7	S
2 Progressive parties	16%	4	L
Walloon	8%	2	NA
Peoples' (Flemish)	6%	1	TC
Ecologists	3%	0	—
Communists	3%	0	C

Greece	*79% turnout*		*24 seats*
Socialists (PASOK)	40%	10	S
New Democrats	31%	8	EPP
Communists	18%	4	C
Dem Socialists (KODISO)	4%	1	NA
Progressives (Far Right)	2%	1	NA

Denmark	*48% turnout*		*16 seats*
Social Democrats	22%	3	S
People's Movt (anti-EEC)	21%	4	TC
Liberals	15%	3	L
Conservatives	14%	2	D
Centre Dem	6%	1	EPP
Progress	6%	1	P
Socialists	5%	1	C
Siumut (Greenland)		1	S

Ireland	*64% turnout*		*15 seats*
Fianna Fail	35%	5	P
Fine Gael	33%	4	EPP
Labour	15%	4	S
Independents	14%	2	L/TC
Sinn Fein	3%	0	—

Luxembourg	*89% turnout*		*6 seats*
Christian Social	36%	3	EPP
Democrats	28%	2	L
Socialists	22%	1	S

Notes

UK The only non-PR system, 'first past the post', except for the 3 Northern Ireland seats, elected by proportional representation

France The UDF (Union for French Democracy) is a right-of-centre alliance of three parties, the true Giscardian Republicans and the Radical Party, who sit with the Liberal group, and the Social Democratic Centre (CDS), who sit with the Christian Democrats. The UDF is putting forward a joint list with the Gaullists this time (see p.ii)

Belgium Apart from the Ecologists, Communists and the United Feminist Party, party politics in Belgium is split between the Flemish-speaking Flemish community and the French-speaking Walloons, both of whom have nationalist parties in addition to their own versions of the main political groupings

Denmark The People's Movt is an anti-EEC non-party-political body whose list included Social Democrats, Radicals, Conservatives, Communists, and a Liberal

Ireland Fianna Fail is Charles Haughey's opposition party; Fine Gael is Garret Fitz-Gerald's ruling conservative party (currently in coalition with the Irish Labour Party); Sinn Fein is the political wing of the IRA

Campaigning for Socialism in Europe

We pledge full support to the Labour Party in the 1984 Euro-elections which take place on 14th June. We will all be campaigning together for peace and jobs. Together we can score a major success for Socialism in Europe and against Thatcherism.

Ernest GLINNE
Chairman
Socialist Group
European Parliament

Please send me information on the work and policies of the Socialist Group.

My name and address is .....

.....

To be sent to: Press Service, Socialist Group, European Parliament, 97-113 rue Belliard, B-1040 BRUSSELS

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Land of milk and. . .

David Blake

Why should farmers be protected and not coalminers?

EUROPE was the cradle of the industrial revolution and is still one of the most heavily industrialised parts of the world. Its prosperity still largely depends on its ability to hold its own against other industrial competitors in manufacturing — from cars to computers. Yet, nearly thirty years after the EEC came into existence, the Community's policies scarcely seem aware of this fact. It has virtually no coherent policy to help industry while huge amounts of money are used to prop up an agricultural sector which produces food that no one in Europe wants and which the rest of the world will only buy with further huge subsidies.

What makes this even more striking is that it was in industrial co-operation — in the iron and steel industries — that European integration all began. The attitude which governments have adopted in this very limited area of industrial action has been different from that towards farming in two respects. In the first place, the burden of action to support and restructure these industries has been overwhelmingly borne by individual governments, not by the Community itself. This is the reverse of the situation in farming, where Community finance underwrites a Community policy. No government has the option of *not* supporting farming in the way that it can choose to let its steel industry to go to the wall.

The second difference lies in the nature of the spending which the Community undertakes. Most money within the Coal and Steel Communities goes to ease the run-down of uneconomic pits or steel facilities; Coal and Steel Fund money is often available to build new roads to help a town adjust to the closure of a works. What Europe does not provide to these industries is a financial subsidy to increase unwanted production.

This is what the Common Agricultural Policy does. Foreign imports are kept out by protection; and domestic production of at least the most important commodities is bought at guaranteed prices well above world levels.

This year the Common Market is spending nearly £10,000 million to buy up surplus food, or subsidise exports. Total farm spending is two thirds of all Community spending (see box). This is on top of the covert subsidies that European consumers are forced to pay for food in the form of high prices and the additional widespread subsidies provided by each member country directly to its own farmers. It would be nice if all this were just money down the drain; for at least it would then be flushed out to sea and do no more harm. What is particularly pernicious about the common farm policy is that every penny spent on it makes the problem worse.

The money which flows into farmers' pockets puts up land prices (we have just seen the first land sold for £10,000 an acre in Lincolnshire), which means that farmers have to produce more to justify their investment. At the same time it gives them the money to buy equipment which increases yields.

In its early stages the CAP was supposed to be more than a bottomless purse to support farm surpluses. Money was also supposed to be used for 'restructuring' agriculture. Two things have prevented it making a contribution to easing the surpluses. The first is that the sheer scale of the spending on maintaining farm prices has soaked up most of the money, leaving little available for anything else. The second is that much of the 'restructuring' effort has actually increased output. The policy has tried to improve the lot of small farmers, with at least a passing nod to the idea that they should have the option of getting off the land. But in doing this, it has encouraged their land being bought by other, more efficient farmers, who simply push up total output. Some have hoped that the drop in the total number of farmers would make them politically less important.

The British experience in this is not exactly encouraging. We have the smallest proportion of people in farming of any EEC country; yet the British farming lobby remains extraordinarily powerful. So powerful that in the whole of the heated dispute about Britain's contribution to the Community budget, all the attention has focused on our net contribution. Every extra pound which our farmers receive goes to 'reduce' this contribution. This is part of the reason why the government has shown little determination to 'do something' about the CAP, whichever party has been in power.

Even this year's hesitant moves to limit milk production leave the Community producing far more than it can consume, or even pay for. This picture is in sharp contrast to the attitude which the Community has adopted to industrial problems. Here the policy has always been to stress the need to achieve financial viability as quickly as possible. Government aids at national level have been limited by Community rules, not boosted by Community funds. Excess production has been cut by quotas, as in the steel industry for the past five years. Imports have been allowed to continue, with only limited restrictions designed to slow their growth rather than keep them out altogether.

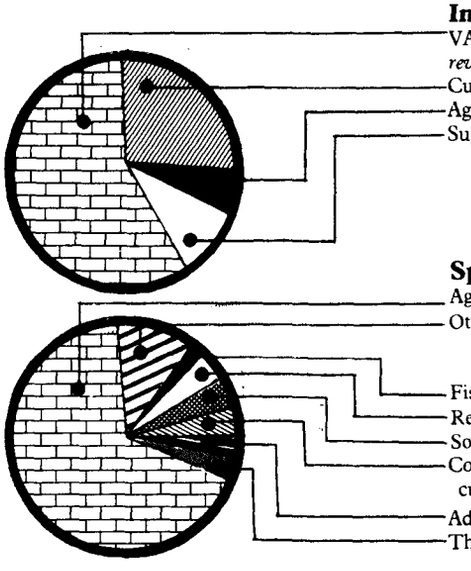
THE PROCESS is seen most clearly in steel, where output has dropped from 158 million tonnes in 1974 to 109 million tonnes last year. By 1986 the Commission wants cuts in capacity of 26.7 million tonnes and an end to all national government subsidies. In the process another 125,000 jobs would go in the steel industry. By the end of the century, the Commission estimates, half of Europe's steel will be accounted for by imports.

There is no case for regretting the absence of a 'common steel policy' which would buy up steel, store it and when the steel mountain got too big sell it at a loss to the Russians. But the sharp contrast between the treatment of one uncompetitive sector compared to another raises questions. Why was it right for Mr Peter Walker, when he was Agriculture Minister, to throw all his weight behind a farm policy aimed at subsidising inefficient farmers when now, as Energy Minister, he throws all his weight behind closing inefficient pits? Could it be that governments of Europe contain more farmers than coalminers?

And, if the Community's only real role in industrial policy is to achieve an orderly run-down of 'sunset' industries, is it any wonder that the middle ranking industries, like cars, are likely to have a bad time against world competition? Meanwhile, efforts to work out policies for 'high technology' have run into the ground. Those sectors of European industry that have been suffering in recent years have little to be excited about on the European front. □

The European Community's Budget (Est. 84)

Total ECU 25,139 million (£14,832m)



Income

VAT *(share of Value Added Tax revenue equivalent to 1% rate)*	57.9%
Customs duties	30.3%
Agricultural levies	7.7%
Sugar levies	4.0%

Spending

Agricultural support	66.9%
Other *(incl. energy policy, transport policy, possible British rebate, etc.)*	9.6%
Fish	0.4%
Regional aid	5.8%
Social fund	5.4%
Cost of collecting customs	4.4%
Administration	4.0%
Third World aid	3.6%

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History of the European Community

1948 Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC)

Austria, Benelux (Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg), Denmark, France, West Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, UK

Set up to receive Marshall Aid from the US.

1949 Council of Europe

As OEEC without Spain and Portugal

A commitment to 'political co-operation', rather weak because of British reluctance to commit itself to a supranational authority. Established the Convention on Human Rights, which set up the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg in 1953.

1951 Paris Treaty

Benelux, France, West Germany, Italy ('the Six')

Set up a 'common market' in coal and steel, proposed by Robert Schuman, French foreign minister, in 1950. A Commission ('high authority'), Council of Ministers, Court of Justice and an appointed Parliament — the basic structure of the European Community.

1954 Western European Union

'The Six' and the UK

A military alliance, proposed by the British, which was the result of failure rather than vision: it followed the rejection by Britain and then the French National Assembly of a plan for a single European army.

1955 Messina Conference

'The Six'

Discussed the customs union proposed by Dutch foreign minister, Jacques Beyen. British Foreign Office said Sicily was a 'devilishly awkward place to expect a minister to get to' and — as the Six seemed to be talking about trade — referred the matter to the Board of Trade. The *New Statesman* assumed the conference had been a failure because it was 'conspiratorial' and kept on recessing, or going into private session. But the Board of Trade, alarmed, urged the Conservative government to press instead for a Free Trade Area of the 18 OEEC countries.

1957 Rome Treaties

'The Six'

Set up the European Economic Community ('Common Market') and Euratom, with effect from January 1958. The latter, intended as a peaceful-uses-only nuclear club, was a dead letter within a year, because de Gaulle when he became president started French nuclear tests.

1959 European Free Trade Association (EFTA)

Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, UK

Arose out of a caucus meeting at the previous year's OEEC summit as a counterweight to the EEC, when de Gaulle rejected the British Free Trade Area plan. Portugal invited itself, to everyone's embarrassment. The OEEC, now redundant (Greece, Ireland, Spain and Turkey had applied for associate status with the EEC), transformed itself into a world trade co-operation body, the OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) in 1960 by admitting Canada and the US (Australia, New Zealand, Finland and Japan joined later). In 1961 British premier Harold Macmillan reversed his government's policy, post-Suez, and applied to join the EEC. Ireland and Denmark also applied; and Norway in 1962.

1962 The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP)

The CAP was agreed after long and bitter negotiations and came into operation in 1964. Its principles had little to do with the free trade rhetoric of the Treaty of Rome: high food prices were to guarantee the standard of living of the agricultural sector.

1963 The General Says No

De Gaulle announced that Britain was not ripe for EEC membership. (The right of any member to veto new entrants had been written into the Treaty of Rome by socialists worried about the accession of the then right-wing governments of Spain and Portugal.) Irish, Danish and Norwegian applications were also suspended.

1965 The 'Empty Chair' Crisis

France refused to chair the Council of Ministers and withdrew from European Community institutions for seven months over the Commission's plans to raise its own finance and to give the Parliament budgetary powers. As a result each country still retains a 'vital interests' veto on the Council, which was supposed to move to majority decision-making in 1966.

1969 De Gaulle Dies

In 1970 the plans to give the EEC its 'own resources' and to enlarge the EEC were agreed (UK, Ireland, Denmark and Norway had reapplied in 1967).

1972 Treaties of Accession

Accession of the four agreed, but a referendum in Norway rejected membership by 53 per cent. The other three joined in January 1973.

1975 Labour Renegotiates

The Labour government, elected on a 're-negotiation' ticket in 1974, obtained improved terms for the UK and a referendum voted to stay in the EC by 67 per cent. Greece applied for membership. Spain and Portugal applied to join in 1977 (they are unlikely to accede before 1986).

1979 European Monetary System

Introduced the ECU (European Currency Unit) and a new 'snake', linking individual exchange rates. The UK is not a member.

1979 First Euro-elections

Direct elections to the European Parliament, previously consisting of 200 appointed members.

1980 War of Thatcher's Budget

Declared in Dublin in 1979, the first battle took place in Luxembourg. After five weeks of deadlock, the other eight members conceded that British contributions were unfair and committed the Commission to reforms.

1981 Greek Accession

Phased over five years.

Winston Churchill

Like de Gaulle rejected by his country after the war, Churchill lobbied as leader of the opposition for a United States of Europe — his Zurich speech in 1946 'electrified' opinion according to contemporary commentators. But his motives were nationalistic and military. He launched the idea of a single European army, at the Strasbourg Assembly in 1950.

But continental moves towards a Common Market did not fit in with Tory patriotism or the need for a European defence policy. At the same Assembly Harold Macmillan rejected the idea of the Coal and Steel Pool, saying: 'We have not overthrown the divine right of kings to fall down before the divine right of experts.'

With Churchill back in power, the Tories in 1951 opposed to the efforts of 'the Six' to set up the EEC. Until Macmillan's volte face ten years later, executed by a new junior Foreign Office minister called Edward Heath, the government insisted on the importance of the link with the Commonwealth.

Jean Monnet (left)

All-purpose, obsessive 'Euro-statesman', born French, credited as the founding parent of the Community. His faintly socialist conception of a Euro-superstate differed fundamentally from that of the three front men who actually set up his dream: Robert Schuman (French premier 1947-48, then foreign minister), Konrad Adenauer (West German Chancellor) and Alcide de Gasperi (Italian premier). They were all practising Roman Catholics with a vision of Christian-Democratic hegemony as a bulwark against Communism, which could be extended to include Spain and Portugal, but not to Britain.

Monnet and his disciples sought a 'social-technocratic' administration of a planned European economy, which included post-war socialist Britain. This 'expertist' administration prevailed in the form of the Commission, and the Treaty of Rome incorporated both conservative rhetoric about free trade and pragmatic provisions for its regulation.

Charles de Gaulle (right)

Rejected by his country after the war, de Gaulle had nothing to do with the setting up of the European Community, but came to power the year the EEC was born. His obstinate nationalism shaped the first decade of the Community's development and accounts for much of the resentment still felt against France's role in Europe, particularly by the British.

By chance, the Community fitted de Gaulle's grand design for the French nation outlined in 1944: 'Ensure security by preventing the rebirth of a new Reich. Lead the states bordering on the Rhine, Alps and Pyrenees to unite. Create of the entity the third planetary power and, if necessary, become one day the arbiter between the Anglo-Saxons and the Soviet camp.' (*Memoirs*, 1959.)

The humiliation of Britain over the EEC/EFTA split in 1958 and the even greater snub of vetoing Britain's entry in 1963 can be explained as the settling of wartime scores, such as his exclusion from the Potsdam meeting of Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill in 1945.

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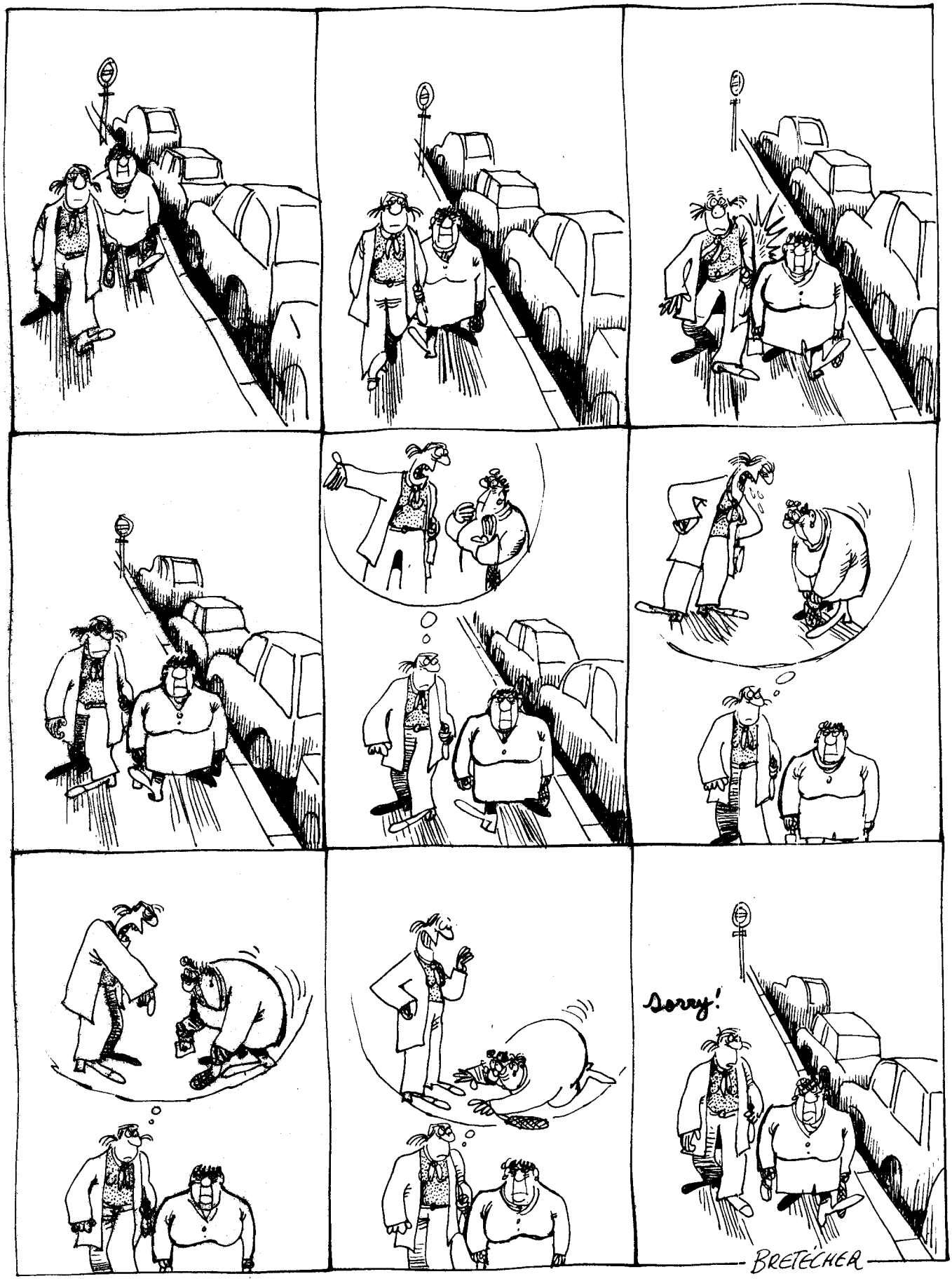
BRETÉCHER REPRESSION



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Godfrey Hodgson

Super man

Charles de Gaulle: A Biography
DON COOK *Secker* £15

The tall young officer mounted the platform, removed his kepi, unbuckled his dress sword and peeled off his freshly pressed white gloves. Without a note he began the first of his three lectures: subtle advertisements, both for his patron, the glorious, already ancient Marshal Pétain, and for himself. His subject was leadership, his question: what constitutes 'the divine element of authority'. Leaders, he conceded, do not possess the social graces. 'Although deep down the masses may obscurely do them justice, recognizing their superiority, they are rarely loved and in consequence rarely find an easy path to the top.'

In point of fact, his superiors had already recognised in the young Charles de Gaulle not only the bloody-mindedness but also the promise. 'Unfortunately this officer spoils his incontestable qualities,' ran one report from a superior at the Ecole Supérieure de Guerre, 'by his excessive assurance, his severity towards others and his attitude of being a king in exile.'

He was, says Don Cook in this admiring and admirable biography, 'the last great man in Europe'. The history of Europe is not over, but Cook may be right. For the model de Gaulle set himself was an essentially 19th-century one, that of Carlyle's Hero or the Nietzschean Superman, with — as de Gaulle himself put it in another of his early lectures — 'his will to power, his taste for risk, his contempt for others'. What was extraordinary about de Gaulle was that he succeeded in living out this outmoded fantasy, that he really did impose his sheer will on history, not — as did Stalin, or Roosevelt, or Winston Churchill — as the representative and beneficiary of great historic forces, but against the tide, by sheer individual moral and intellectual force.

The magnitude of the achievement was indeed 'incontestable'. What is much harder to decide is its real nature and value.

De Gaulle really was, what he infuriated people by not troubling to conceal, a very superior human being. He was, for example, physically very strong and also very brave. He distinguished himself in hand-to-hand combat and as a commander in the field — the first in World War I, when he spent 32 months as a prisoner of war and made five escape attempts, the second in Poland fighting against the Red Army and in his brief, momentarily successful command of the 4th armoured division in the last days of 1940.

At the same time he was gentle and compassionate. During the war, he spent as much time as he could with his mentally subnormal daughter, Anne. When she died, he said to his wife, 'Now, she is like the others.'

He was a writer of great skill and force, and an unforgettable speaker. He trained himself in all the arts of government, from the detail of bureaucratic staff work to the high Machiavellian arts of patience, timing, dissimulation.

Above all, he understood the political and psychological weapon of independence. 'It was a basic tenet of de Gaulle's exercise of power, or a fetish of his character,' Cook truly says, 'never to be the *demandeur*.'

With these personal qualities and with almost no other advantages, he met and bested the most formidable men of his time. Churchill was infuriated by him, and called him 'this menacing and hostile man', even adding, 'I consider de Gaulle one of the greatest dangers to world peace'. But Churchill generously acknowledged that he was 'a great man'.

Roosevelt's almost paranoiac detestation of de Gaulle, which is one of the major themes of this book, was more petty. Roosevelt not only backed every seedy Vichy rival against him, he insisted to the end he was 'a little man' and would fade away.

Stalin tried in the course of a memorable Kremlin banquet to browbeat de Gaulle into coming out for Stalin's captive government for Poland, 'the Lublin Poles'. By sheer willpower de Gaulle prevailed.

One of the clues to this extraordinary capacity to exert his will on others was his mastery of himself. De Gaulle was immune to all small temptations, willing to take all burdens on himself. As an appalling example, he personally and alone studied the death sentences of more than 2,000 collaborators. In five months, he reprieved more than half of them, including all women — as a matter of chivalry — and personally signed 768 execution orders.

The other clue is even more unimaginable to most of us: his intense, romantic, yet deadly serious devotion to the idea of France. 'All my life', he wrote in the first paragraph of his memoirs, 'I had a certain idea of France' like 'some princess in a fairy story or a madonna in a fresco, dedicated to an eminent and exceptional destiny.'

Well, what did he achieve?

Even if de Gaulle had not made his famous broadcasts from London, there would have been a Resistance in France and France would have been liberated from the Germans. Very possibly, without de Gaulle, the Resistance would have been dominated by the Communists — even more dominated, that is, than it was. But it was de Gaulle, and de Gaulle almost alone, who succeeded in ensuring that France entered the postwar world as a 'great

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power', as an independent actor on the European stage.

De Gaulle has been credited with the revival of the French economy without which he could never have played the part he did after his return to power in 1958. Nothing could be farther from the truth; de Gaulle understood little and cared less about economic questions. What he did understand was how wealth, like every human resource, could be pressed into the service of the greater glory of France.

His obsession with the Nation, with Glory and with the military virtues made his opponents, including Franklin Roosevelt, take him for a Fascist. He was not that. Indeed he was not even specially anti-socialist and, to a surprising degree, he found that the French Communists shared his nationalist instincts.

In his seventies, he utterly failed to understand the new forces that were building up and the new culture that was to smash the pedestal beneath him in 1968. The only time in his life when he can be said to have panicked was the day he flew to Germany and had to be talked into going back to Paris to face the events of May by his former enemy from Algiers, General Massu.

His two most obvious achievements will last. The first was Algerian independence, carried through with cold, dissimulating resolution. No one should underestimate the courage it took; the decision cost nine assassination attempts and at least two attempted *coups d'état*. Of course, it was done, not in the interests of Algeria, but in those of France.

The second was the constitution with which he endowed the Fifth Republic. It has flaws. One of them may even have been deliberate: it does not clearly prescribe for the situation that could arise in a couple of years' time, when a socialist President could confront a right-wing majority in the Assembly. Yet the Gaullian constitution has proved far superior to those of 1871 and 1945, and it has not deprived François Mitterrand of the power to govern — whatever use he has made of that power.

It may be that a third, more disputable achievement will be the most valuable of all. No leader in either Britain or West Germany since 1945 has really dared to act independently of the United States.

If Europe is ever to recover its freedom of action, de Gaulle will be seen, not as the last great European, but as the pioneer who shaped out of his 19th-century obsessions and his petty resentments a model for a Europe that could be truly independent both of the Soviet Union and of the United States.

Don Cook, now the bureau chief of the *Los Angeles Times* in Paris, has reported from France since the Liberation. He writes with affection and with understanding. He is also scrupulously fair. He understands that Roosevelt felt that, in restoring de Gaulle, he would be restoring a French colonial empire that he found morally indefensible. He also understands that Roosevelt's treatment of de Gaulle was paranoid and unjustifiable.

Unfortunately the book is marred by deplorable editing. President Mitterrand's name is spelled wrongly. The three remarkable Astier de la Vigerie brothers are called 'Astier de la Vergerie'. Dubcek's nationalism is called 'Czech' when the whole point is that he was a Slovak nationalist. And de Gaulle's wartime intelligence chief, 'Colonel Passy', whose real name was André Dewavrin, is repeatedly named as 'Dewarvin'. A pity to mar a generous and perceptive biography and I can't believe it was the writer's fault. □

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE
Michael Rosen

Treasure trails

The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature
HUMPHREY CARPENTER and MARI PRICHARD *Oxford* £15

Several weeks ago, when I was round at my father's place, I went upstairs to rummage through the cupboards and shelves. I was after my children's books. I found the bright pictures of Assyrians in Hogben's *Man Must Measure*, a battered *Mr Leakey*, Trease's *Trumpets in the West* and the real treasure, *The Merry Pranks of Til Eulenspiegel*. But there were some awful gaps: where was *The Story of Coal*, with the picture of the miner having his tea?

Those of us with fathers' cupboards or awful gaps, who want to fit together the pieces of the world of children's books, now have an *Oxford Companion*. In fact, it is not about children's books but children's *literature*. You won't find analyses here of the *Observer Book of Birds*. Like most reference books, this *Companion* tends towards the 'Mastermind' approach to knowledge, so hold on to your black chair . . . 1) Who said about what? 'I wrote this play to show Barrie how a play for children should be handled'? 2) 'Miffy' in the original Dutch is a) Spikkels, b) Rommelpot or c) Nijntje? 3) What book won the first Carnegie medal? 4) Who wrote the original book, *Chitty Chitty Bang Bang*? 5) What was the first ever book of limericks? 6) In 1968, *Janet and John* was in what percentage of British primary schools? 7) Who first drew Mickey Mouse a) Zeb Meister b) Id Krupp or c) Ub Iwerks? 8) Tenniel was missing a) one finger, b) one eye or c) one leg? 9) Goldilocks started out as a) an angry old woman, b) The Yellow Fairy or c) Tuftie Toppe? 10) Edward Lear suffered from a) syphilis, b) epilepsy or c) asthma?

The book takes us alphabetically through authors, book titles, publishers, other countries' histories of children's literature, genres, critics and a miscellany of subjects from 'Racism' to 'Fairies'. Presumably most people will dip and refer, which presents a problem: there is no index. As a result, retrieval is difficult. Thus: under, 'Blue Fairy Book', it says 'see FAIRY BOOKS', but there is no entry under 'Lilac Fairy Book' (which is mentioned elsewhere) and we are not directly referred to the compiler, Andrew Lang. Similarly, you might have classifications of books not represented by an entry; like 'Humorous Books', which, if featured in an index, could direct you to a cluster of references.

The broad sweep of the book is fascinating, and it's especially good on publishing history, as with Perrault, and on up-to-date critiques of e.g. the Grimms. Though it does not set out to be a critical book, the authors say '. . . we have made brief comments on what seem to us the qualities or failings of many of the authors included.' This gives the book an ungenerous feel, as with Betsy Byars: 'At other times, her stories are predictable, with echoes of soap-opera and the books of Judy Blume.' This is the un-argued Lit.-crit.-formula Game. What's wrong with soap-opera?

Though the authors find room for opinions, they don't find room to discuss under 'Nonsense', for example, why nonsense is important to children. There is no entry for 'Symbolism' and, though the book takes on board the perceptions of people like John Rowe Townsend on fiction, it doesn't draw on the work of Bettelheim or Jack Zipes for ideas on the meaning of imagination.

Good to see 'Racism' and 'Sexism' with their own entries, but the left criticism of children's books includes accusations of middle-class domination. You will have to find reference to this under Bob Leeson or E. Nesbit or occasional passing references to George Orwell and the authors' own comments: 'Babar and his family, once a group of eccentrics, had become merely a "petit bourgeois" father, mother and children.' To which a petit bourgeois will ask, 'What's wrong with petit bourgeois? Most children's literature is petit bourgeois.' (Including the paper jacket of this book.)

Yet, the *Companion* is a great source of intriguing leads, with mentions of Gertrude Stein's book for children . . . Henty's book dealing with 'industrial unrest' (!) . . .

Omissions? I guess the publishers will feel under-represented. There are summaries of plot of e.g. 'Tristram and Isolde' but not 'Beowulf'. No entry for Weston Woods's superb cartoon film tellings of short classics, no Oliver Noggin the You-Know-Who Postgate, or Terry Jones's extra-special Fairy Tales or Julius Lester. Jack Lor don gets six lines and the section on 'Poetry' is feeble in the extreme, giving no indication of subject matter, style or change. Teenage fiction is treated as mostly rather horrible, which, of course, begs the question why do the beasts themselves read the books? This question is begged throughout, as there are no children's responses in the book.

This said, I spent a wonderful, anti-social three days reading it. Again and again, it had me drawn into a particular writer's world, like that of E. Nesbit (brave woman and a half), or following a treasure trail back to the source of a classic story. Please, OUP, do an index. □

Answers: 1) Shaw on 'Androcles and the Lion' 2) c) 3) 'Pigeon Post' (Ransome) 4) Ian Fleming 5) 'The History of Sixteen Wonderful Old Women' — not by Lear. 6) 81% 7) c) 8) b) 9) a) 10) all three!

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AUTOBIOGRAPHY
Michael Leapman

Mild and mild

Split Screen
IAN TRETHOWAN *Hamish Hamilton* £12

When Ian Trethowan retired as Director-General of the BBC in 1982, Jim Callaghan sent a genial but waspish farewell message:

> I always thought of him as a mild Conservative, nothing very extreme about him at all. So I'm not surprised he became Director-General of the BBC. That's what they have, mild Conservatives without extreme views but who have a strong sense of principle and who are determined a Conservative Government is going to win.

In this low-key volume of memoirs, Sir Ian makes a ritual denial of any political bias in his five-year stewardship of the Corporation, but readily confirms the rest of Callaghan's analysis. He records how, when first appointed to a senior managerial post at the BBC in 1969, he rang William Rees-Mogg, editor of *The Times*, to say that he was prepared to continue the political column he wrote for him but would perforce be inhibited. 'How inhibited?' the editor asked. 'I'll have to stop being rude about Harold Wilson,' was the reply. 'Oh, *very* inhibited,' Rees-Mogg commented, and cancelled the column forthwith.

Trethowan's early career was as a political correspondent of the straight-bat school, for the *Yorkshire Post* and *News Chronicle*. He was a conscientious member of the Parliamentary Lobby whose rules, if faithfully kept, effectively bar scoops. If he was responsible for any important revelations, he is too modest to tell us about them. His confidants came mainly from the Butskellite wings of the major parties. When he moved to Independent Television he proved a predictably safe interviewer of potentially touchy politicians. Thus, as Callaghan observed, he was a natural candidate for a senior role at the Beeb.

Disappointingly for his readers, Trethowan appears to regard the lobby rules as binding in perpetuity, covering his time at the BBC as well. There are two valid reasons for writing memoirs — to retail gossip or to use your career as an illustration of some important general principle. He eschews the first course: the few promising anecdotes are fatally weakened because he leaves out the protagonists' names. As for the second, he does concede flaws in the way British broadcasting is controlled, but when it comes down to it he is dashed if he can think of a better formula, except the appointment of a nebulous 'communications advisory committee'. He was certainly greatly relieved when the Conservatives in 1979 decided not to proceed with Labour's plan to create supervisory boards.

His accounts of disputes with political leaders during his Director-Generalship make it clear that he was more worried about offending the Conservatives than their opponents. When, soon after Airey Neave's assassination, the BBC ran an interview with a disguised member of the Irish National Liberation Army, Trethowan responded to Mrs Thatcher's public denunciation by readily admitting error, although he had personally approved the interview in advance. He saw some merit, too, in complaints against the BBC for reporting the Argentinian view during the Falklands war, rationalising in weasel fashion: 'It is one thing to claim the right to interview an Argentine spokesman, it is quite another to fail to question him properly.'

Significantly, he addresses himself not at all to the equally important argument that BBC reporters were being too compliant in reporting only the sanitised official version of the Falklands fighting. And his account of the dispute over the withdrawn invitation to E.P. Thompson to deliver the Dimbleby Lecture is unconvincing. (He says Thompson was not actually invited, just 'sounded out'.)

Selima Hill

Heading south

It is past midnight at Crewe. The nocturnal
station-master blows his shining whistle.
As the train gathers speed
the couple opposite me start to kiss.
They press their tongues into each other's
moist unfolding mouths like fish.
I watch him in the window gather up
her skirt in his reflected hand
then, arm in arm, still kissing,
they leave the compartment . . .

Of course, I think of you —
gathering my nightdress in your hand,
crossing my body with your fingers,
travelling light across loved
territory by night . . . Heading south,
flushed, separated, they come back;
and, tucking up our coats like blankets,
we cross England asleep,
dreaming of bodies unrolling like fields
as the train presses on towards morning.

The gap in Trethowan's accounts of his dealings with politicians is that he does not tell us in any detail of the arguments that went on inside the BBC about these controversial matters. Again, it is 'no names, no pack drill'. We gather that he was disillusioned with those responsible for *Panorama* during much of his term of office, not least because they offended the Chinese just before he visited Peking, so that, instead of meeting the leader Deng, he was fobbed off with a senior official. But how did Trethowan make his displeasure known? Did heads roll? We are not to know.

A clue to his paternalistic attitude towards the public that paid him comes when he discusses Terry Wogan's jokes about the Director-General in his morning radio programme. 'It seemed to me,' he writes pompously, 'that Terry's joking helped in a small way to humanise an office which must otherwise seem very remote to ordinary listeners.' Ordinary readers will find the Beeb and Trethowan scarcely less remote when they have finished this bland book.

LETTERS
Mervyn Jones

Every scrap

The Collected Letters of William Morris: Volume I, 1848-1880
ed. NORMAN KELVIN *Princeton* £50.30

'My dear Sir,' William Morris wrote to a man called Nicholson on 19 December 1868, 'Tuesday at the same time about 3pm would suit me better, as I have an engagement on Monday afternoon.' Many of the letters in this collection are on this level of significance, and one has to question what is really the point of reprinting them all. It sustains the academic industry, and it gives the editor a reputation — Norman Kelvin certainly earns full marks — for capable research and annotation. But these tomes, already out of reach of the individual buyer, now involve costs that are forbidding to libraries. (The British distributors have made their usual unjustified mark-up; the price in the US is $55.) As this is the first of two volumes, the whole collection will call for an outlay of £100, at which a county librarian in these hard times might well blench.

Morris-lovers, however, will find nuggets of beautiful and evocative writing — most often in the early years. Here is Morris, at the age of 21, telling a friend about his trip to France:

> So gloriously the trees are grouped, all manner of trees, but more especially the graceful poplars and aspens, of all kinds; and the hedgeless fields of grain, and beautiful herbs that they grow for forage whose names I don't know, the most beautiful fields I ever saw yet, looking as if they belonged to no man, as if they were planted not to be cut down in the end. . . but that rather they were planted for their beauty only. . . and they all looked as if they would grow there for ever, as if they had always grown there, without change of season, knowing no other time than the early August.

In his introduction, which looks forward to both volumes, Professor Kelvin offers some cautious speculations about Morris's emotional life.

Love and friendship were, for Morris, concepts that overlapped in what may be called a Greek manner. Letters to Cormell Price, his closest friend from Oxford days, begin 'Dearest Crom' and end 'Your most loving Topsy'. Letters to his wife are signed: 'Your loving William Morris'. In the light of our knowledge of this uneasy and unsuccessful marriage there is a pathos in his reiterated: 'Please dear Janey be happy.'

The letters do, however, indicate, as Kelvin points out, that Jane shared his ideas and aspirations rather more than most biographers have thought. Letters to Georgiana Burne-Jones and Aglaia Coronio, the other women who were (at the least) intimate friends, end: 'Your affectionate William Morris' — a nuance not without meaning. We'll never know the real nature of these relationships, as the letters to

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Georgiana were discreetly weeded by J. W. Mackail, her son-in-law and Morris's first biographer.

One letter from the young Morris to his mother is distinctly curious:

> Your money has by no means been thrown away, if the love of friends faithful and true, friends first seen and loved here, if this love is something priceless, and not to be bought again anywhere and by any means: if moreover by living here and seeing evil and sin in its foulest and coarsest forms, as one does day by day, I have learned to hate any form of sin, and to wish to fight against it, is not this well too?

'Here', in this passage, is Exeter College, Oxford.

The letters add something — though not nearly so much as the lectures that Morris gave in the late 1870s — to our understanding of his aesthetic values. Early on, he is describing the Bayeux Tapestry as 'very quaint and rude', and evidently using these adjectives as terms of praise.

Repeatedly over the years, he voices his loathing of the architects who specialised in restoration and grew rich on it, especially Sir Gilbert Scott:

> As for the old bird, all I can say is that he is convicted out of his own mouth of having made an enormous fortune by doing what he well knows to be wrong — he is a damned old thief in short.

The second volume of letters will surely be much more interesting than the first, since it will take us on to Morris's years as an active Socialist.

From letters already quoted in biographies, we know that Morris tried out his developing ideas in correspondence with comrades who raised all sorts of questions with him; he also commented, more freely than he allowed himself to do on public record, on the faults of Hyndman and others. Meanwhile, we can trace his approach to an explicit political stance, especially through his activity in the Eastern Question Association, set up to campaign against the threat of war with Russia on behalf of the corrupt Ottoman Empire. His enemies were Disraeli ('the Jew wretch') and Queen Victoria (referred to as 'the Widow Guelph' or 'the Empress Brown'). Morris was exasperated by the tendency of big-name Liberals to contain the anti-war agitation within formal and gentlemanly channels — 'the liberal party are funking', he tells Jane in 1878, and winds up: 'I for one feel very bitter and angry.'

The EQA experience didn't, in fact, lead Morris directly to a fight on all fronts, as has sometimes been believed. In his disappointment, he blamed the people at large for being carried away by jingoism, and drew back for a time into himself:

> For some years to come, until perhaps great disasters teach us better, we shall be a reactionary and Tory Nation. I believe myself that the best way would be for all worthy men to abstain from politics for a while; so that these fools might be the sooner filled with the fruit of their own devices.

Happily, Morris was retreating — even if he didn't know it — to prepare himself for a great leap forward. □

FICTION
Harriett Gilbert

Family way

During the Reign of the Queen of Persia
JOAN CHASE *Virago* £8.95
Present Times
DAVID STOREY *Cape* £8.95
Mayakovsky, My Love
ANNE LEATON *Hogarth Press* £8.95 & £3.95
To Stay Alive
LINDA ANDERSON *Bodley Head* £7.95
Eustace Chisholm and The Works
JAMES PURDY *Gay Men's Press* £7.95 & £3.50

Once in a while, a literary genre gets taken on by an author more powerful than itself — an author who, like a judo expert, can redirect the force of the opponent to make it concede a vital, exciting new form. This has sometimes happened to the thriller. **During the Reign of the Queen of Persia** now does it to the family saga.

The story of this inventive first novel is of three generations of a farming family in Ohio. Gram, the 'Queen of Persia' herself, is a hard-bitten, rasp-tongued old widow, who has battled her way from poverty to some kind of landed prosperity and a rigorously self-centred social existence of 'bingo parties, horse racing... anything exciting'. Gram's five daughters have long left home for careers, or marriages, or both, yet keep returning to recharge themselves from her and each other's energy. And, whether with them or without them, their children also invade the farm — notably the two sets of sisters whose voice, collectively, narrates.

This narrative method is one of the novel's great strengths. It could have been stilted but is, on the contrary, vigorous with the galloping fluency of speakers who know each other well, finish each other's sentences, complement each other's perception.

This latter is partly of the girls' own adolescence (its games, its sexuality, its loyalties, its betrayals), partly of the stories told by their Gram and partly of those dramas in their parents' lives that are loud enough to intrude on their self-absorption: the outbreaks of war and the outbursts of love between their aunts and their mothers; the progressive illness of one of those wilful, likeable, idiosyncratic women; the power struggle between their Gram and their fathers (although the men are peripheral, both to family and story, they are drawn with an understanding and compassion that heightens the dramatic tensions.)

The concentration of past and future into an emotionally complex, sensually luxuriant present gives to the book an intensity that the family saga, with its strung-out structure, usually has to forgo; while the final section (in which Gram re-asserts her independence) provides a satisfactory shock, both intellectual and aesthetic, to a vision that might otherwise have grown too nostalgic and complacent.

Complacency is the hidden flaw in David Storey's new novel, the earnest, somewhat lumbering **Present Times.** On the surface, it looks as though both he and his central character (ex-Rugby League star Frank Attercliffe, reduced to writing match reports and, at 47 years old, about to lose even that) are seriously trying to understand a world to which they have just woken up — a world in which women, children and immigrants (specifically, Frank's wife, his daughters and the black boyfriend/friend of one of the latter) have not so much forgotten their place as redesigned the whole seating plan.

As Frank endeavours to extract some dignity from husbandhood (to a woman who has left him for a richer man, yet now insists on returning) and from parenthood (to teenage daughters who accuse him, at one and the same time, of over-interference and neglect), there are moments of genuine poignancy — the occasional flickers of clumsy affection that flare, then die, between him and the girls; the helplessness with which he must hear that he has been made redundant from his paper... Yet poignancy is all that the novel can achieve. Despite appearances, understanding is never honestly attempted. Any character allowed to advocate feminism or radical racial politics or even, heaven help them, progressive education is presented at best as helplessly confused; at worst as dishonest, cowardly or cruel. Noble, unswervingly wonderful Frank, deprived of any real opposition ends up looking less like a hero — tragic, comic or otherwise — than a bland and obscurely objectionable pudding.

The stories in **Mayakovsky, My Love,** by American writer Anne Leaton, return again and again to the same phenomenon — the quasi-suicidal attraction, the mesmerising ophidian lure of cultures alien to ours. In the title story, a man observes, with mingled sadness, respect and horror, the progress of his wife's involvement with a long-dead Bolshevik poet; David, in 'Destiny', leaves Ohio to become the simple Turkish peasant he feels himself to be ... Leaton can see the absurdity in her characters' misinformed longings; also, the tragic potential; but what gives her stories their disturbing edge is that neither she nor we can be *sure* whether her seekers are really idiots or saints.

Linda Anderson's **To Stay Alive** can hardly fail to disturb — set, as it is, in a Belfast of army brutality, sectarian killings, repression and humiliations. When Rosaleen (a young Roman Catholic, married to a struggling medical student, stuck in her house with an unplanned baby, sexually attracted to a British soldier and, understandably, depressed) is allowed by her author to retaliate with lashes of fierce, hard wit, the novel begins to do justice to its subject. For the most part, however, it is over-contrived and predictable.

While James Purdy's latest is being reviewed all over the place, I should like to point out that an earlier novel, **Eustace Chisholm and The Works** (1967), has been re-issued in the Gay Men's Press's new 'Gay Modern Classics' series. Melodramatic, sado-masochistic and hopeless, the book still has a surprising, placatory charm — if only because, as a story about young manhood in the US Depression, it is touchingly true to the blood-and-puke canvas that lines the confused and frustrated heads of a million-and-one adolescents. □

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SHORTER REVIEWS

A Cup of News: The Life of Thomas Nashe

CHARLES NICHOLL *Routledge* £14.95

Although the events of Thomas Nashe's life are culled largely from his pamphlets and other writings, *A Cup of News* is much more satisfactory as biography than that fact suggests. The very autobiographical pamphlets are a legitimate source and when Nicholl speculates about unconfirmable events he does so in a commendably scholarly manner.

Nashe was the youngest of the University Wits, a group of eight or ten Elizabethan writers, contemporaries of Shakespeare. They were wild young men: they consorted with harlots, they ran up fearsome bills at the alehouse, they gambled and they smoked the new drug from Virginia. And they wrote. They would turn their hands to anything that might net them a shilling. What made the University Wits unusual was that they were 'scholars that chose to be hirelings, gentlemen that lived like rogues'. Most of them burnt themselves out and died young, but they had their effect on Elizabethan literature.

Nashe is best known for *The Unfortunate Traveller*, but he also wrote a series of satirical attacks on the pompous Cantabrigian, Gabriel Harvey, numerous lively, chatty accounts of the seamy side of Elizabethan London and anti-Puritan tracts in rebuttal of the *Martin Marprelate* pamphlets (the theory that Nashe may have been a Catholic sympathiser is one of the several new ideas presented and carefully argued by Nicholl). He wrote with Ben Jonson a lost play which got them into serious hot water with the censors. Nicholl conjectures a Nashe influence on the comic interludes in Marlowe's *Dr Faustus* and demonstrates how, in the early 1590s, Shakespeare and Nashe were 'stylistically very close'. Thomas Nashe was 'quite simply, the touchstone for late Elizabethan humorous prose'.

The author, something of a University Wit himself, judging from his dustjacket description as a journalist and former British correspondent for *Rolling Stone*, has organised his material well and argues his points clearly and with the right mix of imagination and scholarly restraint. This is not just the definitive biography of Thomas Nashe, but a very readable and highly competent guide to this whole stratum of late Elizabethan literary life.

Sarah Lawson

The Death of Deterrence: Consequences of the New Nuclear Arms Race

MALCOLM DANDO and PAUL ROGERS
CND Publications £1.95

No Fire, No Thunder: The Threat of Chemical and Biological Weapons

SEAN MURPHY, ALASTAIR HAY, STEVEN ROSE
Pluto £3.95

The Death of Deterrence concisely but comprehensively sets out the factual basis for CND's current campaigning. It is thus more than a well-organised, amply documented and up-to-the-minute reference work; it is necessary reading for political activists.

Dando and Rogers offer an extended, and very persuasive, restatement of the original argument against American Euro-missiles, showing how their war-fighting capabilities fit into a strategy which also involves Trident (including Britain's 'own' D5 missiles), anti-submarine warfare, air-launched cruise missiles and the 'Peacekeeper' ICBM. The first stages of this strategic rearmament are now hastening on the predictable Soviet counter-programme and, with arms control under Reagan a hollow farce, the 1990s will probably see both super-powers with large arsenals of super-accurate weapons suitable for 'time-urgent' missions. The stage, and the European theatre, are being prepared for a first strike — or (in nukespeak) 'anticipatory retaliation'. In a crisis, fear that the enemy was about to strike first might drive either party, against all reason, to do so itself.

It's a familiar, intolerable prospect and billions of dollars/pounds/roubles/francs are now being spent on making it more likely. The peace movement has to communicate to a public still keen on deterrence that deterrence is as technically obsolescent as it has long been strategically unfashionable. Books like this help, by placing academic expertise directly at the service of political argument and action (as does the succinctly informative *No Fire, No Thunder*, which no peace group's library should be without). But communication is difficult when the media, and too many politicians, reduce all discourse to slogans. Evidence such as is marshalled by Dando and Rogers thus understandably tends to engender weapons-focussed, exclusively anti-American campaigns, which obscure the broader political questions which END and the green movement are raising among peace activists. That, however, is not the fault of the book, which deserves to be read by everyone concerned with the defence of Britain.

M.H. Ryle

Invisible Country

JAMES CAMPBELL *Weidenfeld* £8.95

Homegrown travel books about Britain, both good and bad, usually reflect to some extent on the political, economic and cultural state of the nation. James Campbell's book about Scotland, a good one, does so far more than most. The author, a Scot now living in London, is particularly concerned to penetrate the romantic illusion, cherished by outsiders, of his native land. To this end, he largely overlooks its scenic beauties and 'the meaningless tokens of Scottishness', searching instead for manifestations of an authentic national consciousness.

For Campbell, people make places. Accordingly, conversations resulting from both chance encounters and pre-arranged interviews (including with Ian Crichton Smith and Jimmy Boyle) figure prominently and to illuminating effect. A brief discussion with an oil company troubleshooter, for instance, speaks volumes about 'the new Aberdeen'. Significantly, only visionaries and foreigners (English landowners, American oilmen) express optimism or contentment. And both feel the hard edge of Campbell's pen. He is hardest of all on those Scots preoccupied with 'the small glories of the past', who dream of Independence ('the big idea'). He writes of 'a void in Scottish life precisely where politics ought to be', dismissing the SNP as a party whose extravagant promises derive from the fact that it will never be required to fulfil them. Campbell does not, though, ignore the circumstances that give Scottish nationalism its emotional, if not electoral, appeal. A significant proportion of the book dwells on events past and present which make Caledonian Anglophobia wholly explicable.

Invisible Country's affinities are with classics of observation like Cobbett's *Rural Rides* (Cobbett's *Tour in Scotland* is, in fact, just republished by Aberdeen University Press at £12.50 and £6.90), Priestley's *English Journey* and (an acknowledged inspiration) Edwin Muir's *Scottish Journey* rather than with more recent 'travel stunts'. And, like those books', its conclusions are pessimistic. Everything Campbell records, indeed, seems to echo Muir's description of Scotland as 'gradually being emptied of its population, its spirit, its wealth, industry, art, intellect and character'.

David Montrose

Ben's Bunker Book

BEN HAYDEN *THAP Books, 178 Whitechapel Road, London E1* £1 (including p & p)

This is the diary kept by London van driver, Ben Hayden, of the 14 days he spent on his own, underground, in a home-made nuclear shelter built to specifications recommended in *Protect and Survive*. Although it was supposedly large enough for two people, Hayden barely managed to last out the 14 days with enough room to store the accumulating plastic bags of excreta, buckets of urine and other mouldering rubbish. Despite the time he had to build the shelter and the luxuries he took with him (bottles of Scotch, a cassette/radio with batteries, reading and writing materials) and the security of knowing that the whole thing was a simulation anyway and outside friends and loved ones were still alive and well, the 14-day self-immurement was accompanied by all the attendant horrors associated with death and decomposition. Worms crawled through the tiny cell, the bags of excreta bubbled and farted more or less continuously as they organically decomposed, and mould and fungus began to cover everything.

Not a cheerful story, then. But the diary is an invaluable and acerbic correction to the exultant millennarian nonsense which continues to believe that nuclear war will be just like any other hurricane only on a slightly larger scale, after which we will nearly all emerge brushing the dust off our clothes in readiness to drive to the office or get the children back to school. Civil defence and nuclear bunkers will only exacerbate the nightmare; nuclear disarmament with all possible haste holds out the only prospect of avoiding a global catastrophe, as Ben Hayden set out to show by his singular and strong-willed experiment.

Ken Worpole

The Haunted Mind

HALLAM TENNYSON *Deutsch* £12.95

Hallam Tennyson has written a brave, sad book dedicated to his two children, Ros and Jonny. It is difficult for any man to admit to his true nature in public, and for a homosexual, or bisexual, it is usually prohibitingly difficult. Tennyson's elegantly and sensitively written confessions trace his development through his education in what appears to have been then the homosexual hothouse of Eton, via Balliol, his work for the Friends' Ambulance Unit in the Second World War and his and his wife's rural development work in West Bengal to his 'coming out' in later life when he was working for the Drama Department of the BBC.

He records among his homosexual liaisons and encounters, a contrast of touching, consoling, uncertain, violent experiences. Services rendered, during a railway journey, to a Muslim Indian Army lieutenant, which he expected to be reciprocated, provoked an ugly reaction: he had to lock himself in the lavatory for the rest of the trip, while the belligerent soldier tried to batter down the door. A Greek lover rammed him up against a wall and broke his cheek bone. The publication of *The Haunted Mind* says much for the tolerance and understanding of Tennyson's family.

Brian Martin

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ROCK
Barney Hoskyns

Ccr-cr-cr-cr-cry

NOSTALGIA is nothing new, of course, but when pop music gets as flip and glib as it is today, nostalgia comes into its own. It's significant that the decline of white rock culture should coincide with a new nostalgia for soul music. Many of us, no longer so adept at surfing the latest new wave, have turned to the past for comfort. (Speaking strictly for myself, I've always found it hard to live up to date — even the supposed 'transience' of pop has for me frozen into something permanent.) Consuming the past, we avoid the rat race of consuming the present.

The perfect genre for us to hook into is the soul ballad. Many of us have found it through British companies like Charly and Ace, whose licensing of tracks from dusty back catalogues has led to superb collections by Irma Thomas and Arthur Alexander (Ace/Kent) and Jerry Butler, Betty Harris and O.V. Wright (Charly), to name but a few. The inestimably valuable Charly label has just issued ten albums from the catalogue of Atlantic, the New York label which brought together two Armenians, several Jews and a host of southern blacks to change the entire structure of the black music industry. Atlantic turned the bumptious swagger of urban rhythm'n'blues into the testifying passion of soul music.

R 'n' b is not really my bag, if by r 'n' b we mean that cardboard box of a beat, that tipsy trickle of piano notes, those lazily pawing tenor saxophones which back up early Atlantic chanteuses like Ruth Brown and Lavern Baker. Ruth on **Rockin' With Ruth** and Lavern on **Real Gone Gal** are just too witty for me. They sing a black, pre-Elvis rock'n'roll with imperious sensuality — a perfect soundtrack for boozing but not much more. I've never really enjoyed the romping vitality of boogie woogie or jump blues either, which is why I've ignored Charly's other releases of blues shouters like Big Joe Turner. They fascinate me and they conjure a New York which is almost grainily cinematic, but they never get under my skin.

I guess I'm just a closet romantic, but Lavern is no good on ballads like 'I Cried A Tear'. Ruth is warmer, more intimate on the deep doo-wop of 'Oh What a Dream' — especially written for her by Chuck Willis — but these elegantly haughty women, with their endless challenges to Daddy, are always too much the knowing entertainers. Chuck Willis himself was instrumental in the transition from raucous jump blues to a more tempered, heartfelt balladry. Although his voice on **Keep-A-Drivin'** is uninterestingly smooth, the very opposite of the gospel-drenched howling to come, Chuck wrote songs that the passionate stylists of the next generation feasted on. In his hands, 'It's Too Late' is still a skirting stroll; after it's passed through Ted Taylor and Otis Redding, it is one of the loneliest songs ever written. Similarly, in Chuck's hands, 'What Am I Living For?' is a genteel complaint; picked up by Solomon Burke, it's a chest-expanding blast of sundered faith.

The first great soul singer on Atlantic was Clyde McPhatter. As first heard on records by Billy Ward's Dominoes, his extraordinary high tenor was the sound of gospel in the ghetto, a voice which thrust church fervour into the vocal group setting established by the likes of the Inkspots. By the time the Drifters had (on Atlantic) been formed around this voice, he was standing the conventions of r 'n' b singing on their heads and, if **Rock And Cry** disappoints, it is only because the solo McPhatter never attempts the intoxicated playfulness he brought to 'Baltimore' or 'Money Honey'. In 'Without Love (There Is Nothing)' (1956), however, you hear a kind of spiritual desolation quite new to secular black music — sublimely timed, never overdone.

Ray Charles had no formal grounding in the church but the atmosphere of his first Atlantic sides on **Tell the Truth** is pure gospel blues. His voice only ever had one tone, a sort of non-desperate mixture of Joe Cocker and Bobby Bland, but on 'Losing Hand', offset by a superb slithering bass, or on 'Lonely Avenue', set to a sparse waltz of an arrangement, it sure gets through to me. (I'm a sucker for the lonely ones.)

A year before Ray released his *Modern Sounds In Country and Western* album, Solomon Burke recorded the country staple 'Just Out of Reach', included on **Cry To Me**. It sold millions, which was strange, because Sol's most natural style couldn't have been further from country. Perhaps it was producer Bert Berns who brought out of him the style that dominates this album, but Solomon was a gospel blaster from the start, born into the family church which he heads today. The title song alone is formative of so much to come: neither Tom Jones nor John Fogerty would have sounded like they did without it and the 'ccr-cr-cr-cr-cry' injunctions toward the end are Otis Redding to a T. Maybe Solomon never reached the intensity of James Brown (who has?) but 'The Price' and 'Goodbye Baby' are about as searingly anguished as southern soul has gotten.

Otis has his own LP of early Volt sides, **Come to Me**, starting with the perfectly understated 'These Arms Of Mine' (1962). He still sounds like Little Richard on 'Hey Hey Baby', but the inimitably swelling horns of 'Pain in my Heart' are the first real taste of Stax/Volt as we think of it today. Besides bonus live versions of 'Pain' and 'Arms', the best thing on this record are the title song and three others originally on the *Sings Soul Ballads* album, especially the self-abasing 'Chained and Bound'. Here Otis is gracefully restrained in a manner he sacrificed on his more famous performances.

Possibly the most exquisite melodies on any of these albums are those on Alabaman Percy Sledge's **Any Day Now**. It is hard to do justice to the Dan Penn/Spooner Oldham songs 'It Tears Me Up' and 'Out Of Left Field', heartache shuffles filtered through the tenderest murmur of a church organ. Or to 'Cover Me'. Or to 'Take Time to Know Her', the ultimate deep soul cautionary tale. Percy sang in a rich, occasionally plummy tenor, backed by many of the sessioneers Rick Hall employed at Muscle Shoals, and *Any Day Now* is a superb record. □

CLASSICAL MUSIC
Andrew Clements

For the record

SLOWLY and without any apparent concerted effort on the part of the record companies, the gaps in the Schoenberg catalogue are being filled. Twenty years ago his entire output was available on record — in CBS's complete edition organised by Robert Craft — even though the sound quality was often indifferent and the performances uneven. Since those box sets disappeared the coverage has been patchy, though the London Sinfonietta's collection of the chamber music in the early 1970s plugged a number of holes and Boulez's series of discs for CBS has covered the large-scale pieces, most recently restoring *Die glückliche Hand* and *Erwartung*. But until now one of the unarguable Schoenberg masterpieces lacked a competent modern recording — the **String Trio Op. 45.**

Nothing else in his output quite prepares one for the shock of the string trio. The common criticisms of Schoenberg's 12-note works, that his radical approach to systematising musical language failed to extend to rhythm and that his mature music increasingly fell back on a neoclassical revival of received forms, cannot be applied to the trio. It is music of a stunning immediacy and uncompromising modernity — Schoenberg's *Grosse Fuge* almost — which is the clearest link between the Second Viennese School and the 1950s avant garde. The cerebral

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quality and purity of late Webern may have been a potent stylistic influence but in the demands the trio makes on performers and listeners it looks forward rather than back. As if to emphasise the distance its composer travelled, the magnificent disc from the LaSalle Quartet (Deutsche Grammophon 410 962-1) couples the trio with the Op. 4 **Transfigured Night**, in its original string sextet version.

No quartet has done as much for the cause of the Second Viennese School in the last decade or more as the LaSalle. Some may prefer a more richly sonorous, impassioned approach to music which, after all, evolved from the chromatic saturations of late romanticism but their utterly precise, tensely expressive playing seems to me entirely appropriate. In *Transfigured Night* they make no attempt to create surrogate orchestral textures; the lines remain distinct and the music is given a momentum which only the added clarity of a chamber group could allow. The string trio would push any ensemble to the limit of its capabilities; mastering the extreme technical demands is only a beginning in comprehending a work that is Schoenberg's most frankly autobiographical document, the response to a heart attack in 1946 from which the composer almost died.

There are several reasons why the collection of Schoenberg's complete works for chamber choir by the Netherlands Chamber Choir and the Schoenberg Ensemble directed by Reinbert de Leeuw (Philips 411 088-1, two records) cannot be greeted with the same amount of enthusiasm and gratitude as the LaSalle disc. Though much of the music has not been available for many years on record it does not contain any neglected masterpieces; the bulk of it is solid, rather dry Schoenberg from the years immediately after his invention of serial technique. The early period is represented only by *Friede auf Erden*, a quite Straussian setting of a text by Conrad Ferdinand Meyer completed in 1907 when Schoenberg's concept of tonality was already beginning to break down. In the late 1920s however he produced a series of choral settings in which the potential of 12-note technique is explored, though in a less drily academic way than, for example, in the Wind Quintet and the Suite for seven instruments. The texts are a curious confection: for the *Six Pieces* for male chorus Op. 35 (1929-30) they are all his own, philosophical, didactic; for the *Four Pieces* Op. 27 and *Three Satires* Op. 28 (1925) a mixture of Schoenberg and translations from Hans Bethge's *Chinese Flute*. The very late folk-song settings and the two biblical settings of Op. 50, his last completed work, round out the collection.

The Schoenberg Ensemble's releases on Philips have produced some fascinating compilations. The present set is equally worthy but less compelling, not only because of the music — there is a good deal of earnest polyphony in the later pieces especially — but because the performances by the Netherlands Chamber Choir are less assured and idiomatic than they might be. The most difficult music — Op. 35 — paradoxically elicits the most committed performance; elsewhere there is more than a hint of routine. Schoenberg fans will still eagerly seek out the set; the less convinced might find here some fuel for their scepticism. □

FILMS
John Coleman

Write angles

Rue Cases Nègres (PG)
Chelsea Cinema
Cross Creek (U)
Classic, Haymarket; etc.
Secret Places (15)
Gate, Bloomsbury; Classic, Haymarket; etc.
Against All Odds (15)
Warner; etc.
Memed, My Hawk (15)
ABC, Shaftesbury Avenue

Euzhan Palcy's enchantingly accomplished first feature, which she scripted as well as directed, has both camera and heart in the right

Theatre

BLOOMSBURY THEATRE Gordon Street WC1. S & CC 01-387 9629. London Theatre Company presents **'Romeo & Juliet'** directed by Edward Wilson. 1 June 7.30pm, Mats 2.30pm on 18, 21, 23 & 25 May.

HALF MOON THEATRE 213 Mile End Road, E1. 01-790 4000. Until Sat 8pm **KILLER BYTES** by Vince Foxall. From Tues 8pm **THE DREAM**, a musical adaptation of Shakespeare's comedy.

NATIONAL THEATRE 01-928 2252 Olivier (open stage) 'Saint Joan', 'Guys and Dolls'. Lyttelton (proscenium stage) 'Golden Boy'. Cottesloe (small auditorium) 'Antigone', 'Animal Farm'. See daily press for dates and times or ring record information 01-928 2256.

ROYAL SHAKESPEARE COMPANY 01-628 8795/638 8891. 24hr info 628 2295.
BARBICAN THEATRE JULIUS CAESAR — reduced price previews 23-29 May. MEASURE FOR MEASURE returns to rep 1 June. THE COMEDY OF ERRORS returns to rep 6 June. **THE PIT** THE TIME OF YOUR LIFE By William Saroyan in repertoire with VOLPONE by Ben Jonson and LIFE'S A DREAM by Calderon de la Barca.

SADLER'S WELLS THEATRE EC1. 01-278 8916 (5 lines) CC group sales 01-930 6123. The Wells' Stagecoach: Before & after-show Bus Service — phone B.O. for details. LONDON CONTEMPORARY DANCE THEATRE until 26 May. Eves 7.30 2 Progs. Ton't Canso Trobar/New Galileo (London Premiere)/Songs, Lamentations and Praises. Gilbert & Sullivan Season June 4-July 21. Tel: 01-278 0855 (24 Hr) for brochure.

Benefit

MINERS' BENEFIT Sun 20 May 7pm at **Half Moon Theatre**, 213 Mile End Road, E1. **The Darts**, plus five comics plus special guests. £4 waged, £1.50 UB40 and strikers.

Event

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Museums

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Literary

OUTPOSTS POETRY QUARTERLY. Poems invited for future issues and 1984 Poetry Competition (prizes £1,000). For details send S.A.E. to 72 Burwood Road, Walton-on-Thames, Surrey KT12 4AL.

DYLAN THOMAS AWARD
The 1984 Award of **£1,000** will be made to a short story writer.
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place throughout. Based on her compatriot Joseph Zobel's largely autobiographical 1950 novel, subsequently banned by officialdom for 20 years, **Rue Cases Nègres** sets us down in French Colonial Martinique of the early Thirties, to follow the fortunes of bright 11-year-old José (Garry Cadenat) as the black orphan kid scrambles to escape from the cane-cutters' shanty-town where he lives with his rough-tongued, pipe-smoking, adoring grandmother. For this ailing but stoical M'man Tine (magnificent Darling Legitimus, one of only two professional actors in the film) is consecrated to little José's academic success, as is the community schoolmaster, chalking on the board: 'Education is the key that opens the second door to our freedom.' And something of what that still-creaking first door meant is learnt *al fresco* from an old village sage, Medouze (dignified Douta Seck, a Senegalese pro), descendant of slaves: 'We were free, but our bellies were empty', and 'The Master became the Boss'.

José gets a partial scholarship; he and grandma move to the capital, Fort-de-France, where they are reduced to nestling in a giant crate and she to taking in washing; then an essay of José's, at first incredulously rejected as plagiary (it concerns by-now dead Medouze and notions of slavery), is apologetically accepted and more tuition money obtained. That is not quite the end, of course. What is so marvellous about this cinematic debut is its unfashionable avoidance of Third World hectoring. Maybe the sepia-tinted images work otherwise than Euzhan Palcy intended, in fact, importing an anaesthetic elegance of nostalgia — a touch of the rose-coloured. But no one would deny the vitality that resists squalor, the kids' mischief back at 'Black Shack Alley', the moment when José's town-wise elder buddy — sailor, cinema helper, chauffeur and gigolo — shows him round an employer's house, not forgetting the white missus's bedroom. Nor are the gradations of snobbery among shades of black forgotten. It is a complex experience — and vastly attractive.

Martin Ritt's **Cross Creek** takes on another writer in the making, or re-making, the crucial year this time being 1928. Any other resemblance between his movie and the Palcy one is strictly factitious. It appears that Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, known to me only as author of *The Yearling* and, at that, via Clarence Brown's film of the book, suddenly left home and husband in New York for the life solitary in a Florida backwoods orange grove bought with her last savings. Or almost. She seems (as impersonated by Mary Steenburgen) to be able to hang in there for ages on nothing much. And so does *Cross Creek*, one wants to say; yet it feels a mite unfair. After all, there are plenty of incidents of rural delight and disaster; sterling performances from Rip Torn as loveable roughneck neighbour, Peter Coyote as whimsical suitor and bedder, and Alfre Woodard as pugnacious little black maid.

But, just because Rawlings, who hits the bottle some, picturesquely decides one stormy night to abandon the Gothic romances Max Perkins has been rejecting in favour of writing about her locals, it doesn't necessarily mean this bunch is more 'real' than urban folk. True-grit Ritt may have conned himself here on a false contrast. Certainly, when one looks at the lush pictures supplied by John A. Alonzo's camera, ponders the alarming likeness Steenburgen offers at times to a gauzy Jennifer Jones and winces from the 'Rawlings' voice-over cosmic banalities, one has reason enough to doubt the authentic enterprise behind the enterprise.

Secret Places, Zelda Barron's first film (as writer and director), has many cherishable things in it but suffers overall from a sort of spasmodic diffuseness, possibly because it has tried to preserve too much of a Janice Elliott novel set in and around a Midlands grammar school for girls during World War II. The central relationship, beautifully played by Tara MacGowran and Marie-Theres Relin, has sweet, angular Patience befriending a newly arrived German refugee, sleek Laura, who has dire family problems: worshipped Luftwaffe brother who betrayed their father to the SS, physicist father now interned by the British, mother on morphine and rejecting Laura. The two girls nearly break up over a lad from the local boys' school taking part in a shared production, mounted by 'sensitive' Miss Lowrie (Jenny Agutter in cameo), of *The Three Sisters;* later reconciled, they are suspected by beady-eyed old Miss Trott (Sylvia Coleridge) of lesbian pangs and Laura is banished to an attic room to study alone while Patience, also a potential Oxford candidate, stays ashamed and mute; there is a suicide attempt. As if all this were insufficient, an improbably flighty member of their gang gets pregnant by a Yank corporal. Yet, granted the Forties production values, the wartime setting goes for less than it might. The resultant movie is a small, hothouse affair.

Taylor Hackford made the overrated *An Officer and a Gentleman* and has now remade, if that is the word (one suspects 'rehashed' might be apter), Jacques Tourneur's 1947 *film noir, Out of the Past,* which had Mitchum, Kirk Douglas and Jane Greer in a splendidly tacky triangle. **Against All Odds** is the rightly alarmed title of the berserk new version, which had me lost by reel three, what with Jane Greer returning as mother of her old character and that *femme fatale* now handed over to stimulating but amateur-night Rachel Ward, definitely one of the odds. Corruption is everywhere and Los Angeles its glittering, arid apotheosis. Peter Ustinov is a duck but what possessed him to write, direct and star in **Memed, My Hawk** (from a respected Turkish novel about 1920s feudalism and brigandry in impoverished Anatolia) is beyond conjecture. I should have left early on, after genuinely mistaking Denis Quilley in a red fez for the late, great Tommy Cooper, *Memed,* my foot. □

TELEVISION
Hugo Williams

Why don't we do it in the road?

> A crowd flowed over London Bridge, so many,
> I had not thought death had undone so many.
> Sighs, short and infrequent, were exhaled,
> And each man fixed his eyes before his feet.
> Flowed up the hill and down King William Street . . .

'You seem to have slowed down,' said a roving reporter to an old-timer running in the **London Marathon** (BBC-1). 'Yeah-yeah, Italy,' he replied. He looked as though he was going to have trouble at the border.

In America they have carbo-stuffing parties before a marathon, to avoid hitting 'the wall' if they suddenly run out of carbohydrate. When this happens an old look appears on your face, your legs become amusing and you turn into the comedian Max Wall (no relation). One runner had foreseen this obstacle and brought along a ladder. Another was having trouble surmounting something more abstract. He started going backwards and was taken away by the St John's ambulance. The leader of a Viking long-boat made a Viking joke: he was looking forward to raping some women when he finished.

The race was like a mobile Sixties love-in. If you're new to marathons, you need a guide, as on an acid trip, which the experience is said to resemble. You hold on to a string and you hope your guide knows the way. 'Last year my guide forgot my name,' said Mike, hanging on to a grey-haired plodder. Another couple fell in love en route and got engaged. We watched them running along and petting and they both seemed to have a good chance of coming first.

As the race poured round St Katherine's dock I heard someone call my name. I jumped to my feet and looked over my shoulder. Nobody. Naturally I go for a run every day, except today. I wear my ordinary clothes and I hold a letter to post. When I run in the marathon I shall hold a letter so that no one thinks I am advertising Mars Bars. I can't understand how the manufacturers got everyone to put on those paper batman cloaks emblazoned with the Mars logo and masquerading as 'thermal blankets'. The original Greek who ran from Marathon to Athens in 490BC brought the good news of Victory and collapsed dead on arrival. Chris Brasher, one of the organisers of the Marathon, admitted that the activity was totally pointless. He forgot to mention that the good news his 50,000 runners bring in today is that a Mars a day helps you work, rest and die of heart disease.

Endlessly repeated ads on Channel Four are getting me down, particularly Kroy Lettering, which turns 'this proposal' into 'THIS PROPOSAL' about 17 times an evening. The system has obviously been used on the new **Sex Matters** series (C4). 'WHAT YOU WANT WHAT YOU NEED WHAT YOU GET' was the PROPOSAL it blasted off with, in a misguided attempt to conjure up some Soho street cred, I suppose, along the lines of 'Try it, you'll like it'. Sex, we were told, was 'a powerful form of communication which helps bind people together in relationships', which sounded all wrong to me, unless they mean you have to be awake to do it, which I disagree with also. What

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exactly is being communicated, I wonder, apart from the usual hazards? Words may be sexual, yes, especially if they don't mean much. But is it possible for *sex* to be sexual? As Graham Gouldman wrote, 'Communication is the problem to the answer in many cases.'

The stroke which lifted the programme out of the ordinary-unhelpful category into that of Entertainment was the inspiration of doing the commentary in north-country clinical, so that a slightly sinister night nurse was conjured up to hover over these hospital beds. Everything that fell under her starched gaze took on a wonderful sado-masochistic gleam, like a kidney-shaped instrument bowl with an orange rubber tube peeping out from under a beaded gauze coverlet. 'Turn over,' you could hear her saying to her pairs of volunteers, 'I'm going to give you both an enema now,' and then we would be able to see first hand the mess they were in.

Through her, we learned that Carolyn and Keith's sex difficulties stemmed from the Church, where 'sexual awareness is played down'. Carolyn had thought the most important thing was that you were religiously compatible and Christianity had apparently gone along with this notion. 'Wedding bells of seven years ago don't fit in with what our marriage has become,' said Keith, with some feeling. He took down a heavy ledger in which he had been working on an alternative marriage contract to incorporate his wife's extra-marital activities. She looked over his shoulder with interest as he read out, 'No physical relationships except face, mouth, neck and hands of other persons', a PROPOSAL which was obviously open to interpretation for Carolyn. 'I must have passion,' she said. 'If I can't have passion I can't stay with Keith and the kids.' Anyway, the nurse gave them their enema and they disappeared.

Unlike Keith and Carolyn, Barry and Deborah had gone the whole hog and declared their marriage 'open'. Barry said he didn't want 'conspicuous evidence of Deborah's lovers left lying around the flat', but he didn't seem to mind his conspicuous thoughts on the subject being left lying around people's living rooms. There was no 'open' marriage for Brian and Tony, ganders whom you might have thought would share the sauce equally. 'I'm more sexually active than Tony,' said bread-winner Brian, who is allowed to have other men on the side. 'Brian gets randier more often than I do,' said mature student Tony, who isn't. 'The problem with gay relationships is who does what to who', said Tony, voicing a universal mystery. 'You actually have to sit down and work it out,' said Tony, deepening it.

For Steve also, 'the conventional stance was not always taken up'. He managed to get out of bed and cover his private parts from our gaze all by means of this discreet phraseology. The nurse elucidated: 'You mean Carol is sometimes on top?' 'Yes, if I happen to feel down.' With the image of his 'stance' in my mind I thought he said '*fall* down', which seemed not unlikely. □

Among this week's contributors:

GODFREY HODGSON's book about Lloyds of London is to be published by Allen Lane later this year.

BARNEY HOSKYNS is a staff writer on the *New Musical Express*.

THEATRE
Susan Todd

Territories

Real Estate
LOUISE PAGE *Tricycle*
Midday Sun
JOHN ASHFORD, PETE BROOKS, CARYL CHURCHILL, GERALDINE PILGRIM *ICA*
Cries from the Mammal House
TERRY JOHNSON *Royal Court*

Louise Page's **Real Estate** has moments that reverberate with that subterranean charge which occurs when some of the audience's least questioned assumptions are being hauled out of the dark. A story in which a daughter, pregnant and in need of undefined help, returns to the home of the mother she left in jealousy of her stepfather 20 years before, becomes the occasion for asking whether the mother, Gwen, must by nature love her offspring, Jenny. And whether she can, or should, share with this prodigal her hard-won territory, a small real-estate business.

Jenny's maternal feelings become increasingly voracious, consuming all available emotional space, including that of the passionate involvement between her boyfriend Eric and his young daughter. Maternal longings in men, too, are explored, as Eric and Gwen's husband Dick take on the nurturing role which the women have abandoned.

Brenda Bruce charts Gwen's growing resistance to and final refusal of invasions of maternal impulse with consummate, lucid skill. Glyn Owen uncovers Dick's pain with candour. The younger couple, Charlotte Cornwell and Tony Guilfoyle, bring less capacity to dig deep into messy lived experience. The conventionality of the play's form is unsatisfying: in spite of cleverly controlled direction by Pip Broughton and a design by Ellen Cairns which bravely tries to lift the play out of the everyday, the means of presenting the story are less challenging than the material. Because the impact of form has been insufficiently considered, it verges, as most forms of naturalism inevitably will, on soap opera. The effect in the end isn't of questioning but of providing comfort: not challenging but reassuring.

This is not true of **Midday Sun**, which brings together some of the most inventive talents in a performance art style of theatre, with a writer who has never lacked courage in re-inventing forms. These combined powers, from Impact Theatre and Hesitate and Demonstrate (both best to be seen in the field) with Caryl Churchill and John Ashford, have produced an event inspired by the experience of voyaging. Morocco is the location and aspects of what Morocco signifies are suggested to our senses. It is explored as the site of our fantasies — nostalgic, sinister and silly — about the exotic. Visual expectation is totally disrupted by awesomely unexpected objects and people. The space, fully lit, becomes a tacky holiday villa and its beach. A tense dialogue draws more conscious attention to how holidays fail our fantasies and to our guilt about the countries we perch in, despite war and deprivation, as tourists. The dialogue is taken further in a passage that becomes an amplified physical and verbal ritual, revealing the hidden sadness and agitation of the words.

Part of the object of this kind of work is to bypass the ponderous process of description and analysis. It demands a form of attention much less comfortably familiar than that required by the literary traditions in which most theatre-goers feel at home. It asks for surrender and seeks to engage unconscious responses. If you're prepared to relinquish the intellectual superiority audiences use in unlikely forms of theatre to gain control over wayward experience, this piece rewards you with pleasure. The pleasures are those of intricate patterns of sound, light and movement which evoke fleeting moods and feelings, and are constructed by Graeme Miller (soundtrack), Tom Donnellan (lighting) and many others with infinite technical patience. It is most powerful when it trusts most to its own means, less when it becomes too anxiously explicit about exploitation of the world's poor.

THE surface of Terry Johnson's writing is sprightly, nervous and electric. Its ability to provide theatrically snappy laughs playfully confuses and sometimes conceals **Cries from the Mammal House**'s forceful perceptions about a central contemporary terror: that we may be unable to hold, without destroying, anything of use to our future survival. The 'cries' of the title are one of the many awful encumberances of the past, inherited by Anne (Jennie Stoller) and Alan (David Lyon), who preside unwillingly over a dying zoo. Alan's brother David (Roger Rees) commits himself to conserving birds rather than to relationships and daughter Sally (Lorraine Brunning) confines her growing life to a series of animal guises. All of these situations are linked to a dead, though very present, patriarch. He has left behind such irredeemable and careless corruption in the lives of his family and the unkept zoo animals that Alan is reduced to active despair, fit only to kill off the animals. David sets off on a journey to Mauritius, desperately to propagate a dying species. In the course of his adventure, he learns that what seemed as dead as the comically proverbial Dodo may after all be alive, conserved by those wisely innocent enough to be capable of its preservation. The form of the play's optimism is endearing: those who live best are those who live with, and within, their own lunacy.

Phil Young's direction is too straightforward by half; its effect is to normalise the events. Peter Hartwell's design, lowering and portentous, does not lift the play clear of needless gloom. Roger Rees matches, and successfully internalises, the tensions in the play between fury and humour, despair and hope. Lorraine Brunning is remarkably intent in her living out of other creatures' lives. The splendidly stable characterisations of Jennie Stoller could to advantage expand. The production and thus the acting haven't laid hold firmly enough on the play's elusive but central liking for madness; both need to let their hair down. □

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FIRST PERSON

Jeremy Lewis

Running scared

ALTHOUGH I AM well over six feet — 'in my socks', as the saying is — and sport the kind of chin preferred by those heroes of my youth, the Two Dans (Dare and Desperate), it has to be admitted that when it comes to physical bravery I am a non-starter.

If ever I see a drunken person lurching down the pavement towards me, no matter how puny that person might be I instantly cross the road — hurrying that much harder should he be singing in a Glasgow accent and refreshing himself from a tin of export ale. A crash from downstairs in the middle of the night will be greeted by loud coughings — to make quite certain that my wife is primed and ready for action — followed by a protracted search for my specs on the bedside table: by this time, if all goes well, she will be heading resolutely towards the scene of the crime, leaving me to follow behind, my face set in a scowl of iron determination.

Having led, thank God, a fairly mild, protected life, I'm seldom in a position to let my cowardice run riot, though the mere sight of an Alsatian or the over-proximity of a horse's back legs are guaranteed to set the pulses racing. Sitting in a pub the other day, however, I felt a very faint whiff of the kind of fear felt most sharply by the bullied or the persecuted and — to a lesser, more shaming degree — by those who abhor what they see but aren't brave enough (or foolhardy enough, the cynic might say) to do anything about it. The door was flung open and seven or eight men in their mid-30s came up to the bar, ordered their pints and started shouting. They weren't skinheads or punks or members of any of the working-class 'tribes' beloved of modish sociologists, but thick-set, neatly cropped, fair-headed men with beer bellies and hard, ungenial eyes, togged out in jeans and open-necked shirts and V-necked sweaters. Nor were they openly aggressive towards the other lunchtime drinkers; but they made so much noise shouting at one another, bursting into occasional snatches of raucous song and laughing those deafening, discordant laughs associated with men with beer bellies in pubs (can the conversation be *quite* that hilarious?) that it was impossible for the rest of us to continue our conversations. And they exuded a sense of malice and potential violence, so that far from asking them to turn down the volume, the regulars found themselves smiling uneasy, deferential smiles, as they picked their way through them on the way to the door, saving their indignation for the safety of the pavement outside.

No doubt I was being both over-dramatic and unfair on both the beer bellies and the regulars (among whom I counted myself), but the whole non-incident made me wonder once again how I would have behaved in a society like Germany in the 1930s, in which thuggery of the kind that is sometimes directed at East End Asians was not only far more brutal and widespread, but sanctioned by a government which, however dictatorial, enjoyed an alarming measure of popular support. One of the smug, consoling delusions of hindsight — and of living in what is still, one hopes, a tolerant and pluralistic society — is the general assumption among those who brood on such matters (and who doesn't?) that they would not only have sided at once with the forces of good, but would have behaved towards the sadistic brutes in power, and on the streets, with the kind of heroic hostility that, they censoriously suggest, was all too rare at the time.

Although I might have been momentarily seduced by the tunes of some of their better songs, and by the rather ludicrous rural nostalgia the Nazis inherited from the Wandervogel (themselves the German equivalents, I assume, of those schoolmasterly Edwardians who stamped about the country with large sticks, only more mystically inclined and more given to the wearing of shorts), I like to think I would have remained at worst impervious to the blandishments of the regime, and preferably repelled by it; but I have always had a sinking suspicion that, when it came to expressing positive opposition, I would have proved a sadly broken reed, fulminating in the safety of my sitting-room, but passing by on the other side and averting the gaze when it came to be counted.

I have admiration enough for those brave souls who rush to the help of those who have been set upon by the kind of common-or-garden bullies who have been with us (alas) since the beginning of time; for those who register their disapproval of a totalitarian regime from the uncomfortable side of the fence — however futile or self-sacrificing that may be — I feel an almost uncomprehending awe, similar but superior to that reserved for the man on the flying trapeze. Heroes and heroines may be made of the likes of you and I, but I find it awfully hard to believe it.

Most of us, I suspect, are as brave or as cowardly as adults as we were as children, but in a civilised society physical fear of other people is — or should be — a dormant rather than an active emotion; an uncivilised society, it goes without saying, is one in which the fear of being hurt — that most fundamental of fears — has become part of the fabric of ordinary life. On the assumption that it's never too late to mend one's ways — and that physical courage and moral courage will often go together — I must make sure I lead the way downstairs next time the cat knocks a vase over at 3 a.m.; if the beer bellies started to proliferate, it could be useful training for the future. □

WEEKEND COMPETITION

No 2822 Set by E.O. Parrott

Had the Old Testament God been a woman, the stories would surely have been different. Compers are asked for suitably revised versions. Max. 120 words by 1 June.

No 2819 Set by Maud Gracechurch

Recent conversations between the Queen and Mrs Thatcher.

Report by Ernest Oswald fflap

Oh dear, what a simply ghastly predicament. I do think you're all quite *hugely* amusing and erudite, but you haven't made my first day here very *easy*, you wicked young people. I've chinwagged with my more experienced colleagues (who really are *exceptionally*. . . yes, interesting) and we're all agreed that you haven't quite *hit* it with this one. It appears that Her Majesty's beaten you! But back to business. What would you say to five pounds each for the winners? And a welcome to our succinct new entrant who hails from the exotic Solomon Isles (*how* cosmopolitan you are).

MT: Your Majesty. . .
HM: Ah. There y'are. Now get this. No more floppy brims. If I've said it once —
MT: No, no, Ma'am. I'm the Prime Minister.
HM: Oh, are you? In that case the gin's over there.
MT: Thank you, I prefer whisky.
HM: Oh Gawd. *That* one. Drinks whisky and don't like horses. Father works in Tesco's. Well what is it?
MT: You know, I do think it's so important, especially in these days, that we British should show the world how united we are behind the policies of the present government.
HM: Not selling bibles, are ye?
MT: No, Ma'am. I —
HM: Good. Can't stand evangelicals. Philip hates 'em, too. Puts salt in their coffee.
MT: Please. This is business of state.
HM: Is that all? Get on with it, then. You're in charge, aren't you? I'm just a whaddyecallit, figurehead.
MT: But you have an important constitutional function. We must look at these papers together.
HM: Ever been nipped in the arse by a corgi?

BASIL RANSOME-DAVIES

HRH *(putting down a catalogue of Scottish tweeds)*: Ah, Mrs Tatchell, how nice of you to call.
Mrs T: But, your Majesty. . .
HRH: How is Denis? I do so like his little letters in *Private Eye*. It's not normally a magazine I can make much sense of but I do enjoy Denis's pieces. You ought to bring him here more often, and do let him go on his golfing holiday with the Major.
Mrs T: Actually, your Highness, I wanted to talk to you about the miners.
HRH: Yes, I do understand that young people can't find jobs.
Mrs T: No, your Majesty, I meant Arthur Scargill.
HRH: Oh, is he the one who runs the GLC? I understand that you want to abolish the elections. I've never understood why people get into such a tizzy about them. They don't seem to make any difference, as far as I can see. But isn't he rather sweet?
Mrs T: Your Majesty! He is a threat to the future of Britain!
HRH: Nonsense, he is terribly nice, and is so kind to his newts. I'm sure he'd be perfectly marvellous with the corgis. I do prefer him to that frightfully nasty little man with the long thin face. What is he called. . .? Mr Hobbit is it?
(Exit Mrs T in swoon borne out by palace flunkeys)

NICHOLAS MURRAY

HM: How would you like to swap jobs?
Mrs T: I thought we already had.

A. RADCLYFFE

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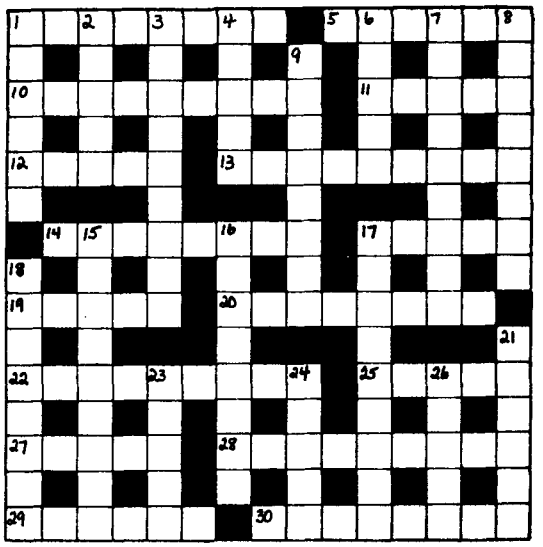
Weekend Crossword 1440

PRIZES: £5 Book Tokens for the first three correct solutions opened. Entries to Crossword 1440, New Statesmen, 14-16 Farringdon Lane, London EC1R 3AU, by first post 29 May.



ACROSS

1. The champion has to put off embracing his purpose (8)
5. Worships god when about to perform (6)
10. Shew crime novel written for small creatures (9)
11. The girl to thwart her father (5)
12. Dance and drink with a bachelor (5)
13. It is shocking to begin with the fish! (9)
14. Nightwatchman put in to bat first (8)
17. Credit that is right for the caller (5)
19. A part for a bird-man? (5)
20. Hold in a grip when playing the fool (8)
22. Where to get petrol for eastern rulers (9)
25. Chosen from novel items on the list (5)
27. Place in the room a handsome man occupies (5)
28. Potentially elite land in Africa (4,5)
29. Meal makes one the opposite of embarrassed about the hotel (6)
30. One printed obscurely although in bold (8)

DOWN

1. Run away from merit (6)
2. Market-place which is universal in shape (5)
3. Place caught between fresh start and possibly stale finish (9)
4. Issues it in a city (5)
6. Had a drink up in the HQ (5)
7. I am twice mixed up with the planter of a creeper (9)
8. Shocks when an oval body rises in the firmament (8)
9. Oils gear change for women (8)
15. Back number holds an unusual treat to welcome guests (9)
16. Act in once revised work (8)
17. Fighter who is opposed to the soft (9)
18. Make one little street provide the money for a whole town (8)
21. One from the chest given up as a prize (6)
23. 'Bird' means to do a stretch (5)
24. What eagles have which is a pound in weight (5)
26. I go wrong somewhere near Oxford (5)

SETSQUARE

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MEETINGS

THEOSOPHY: S.a.e. for free pamphlets, book list, programme of activities. Public Talk Sunday 20 May 8p.m. 'True Meditation'. ULT, 62 Queen's Gardens, London W2 3AL.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON: The John Coffin Memorial Literary Readings will be given by Judi Dench and Richard Pasco with piano accompaniment by Chuck Mallett, entitled: 'The Echoing Green' (A Celebration of Childhood in Words and Music devised by Roger Pringle) at the University of London, Senate House, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU at 5.30 p.m. on Thursday 31 May 1984. Admission free, without ticket. Academic Registrar.

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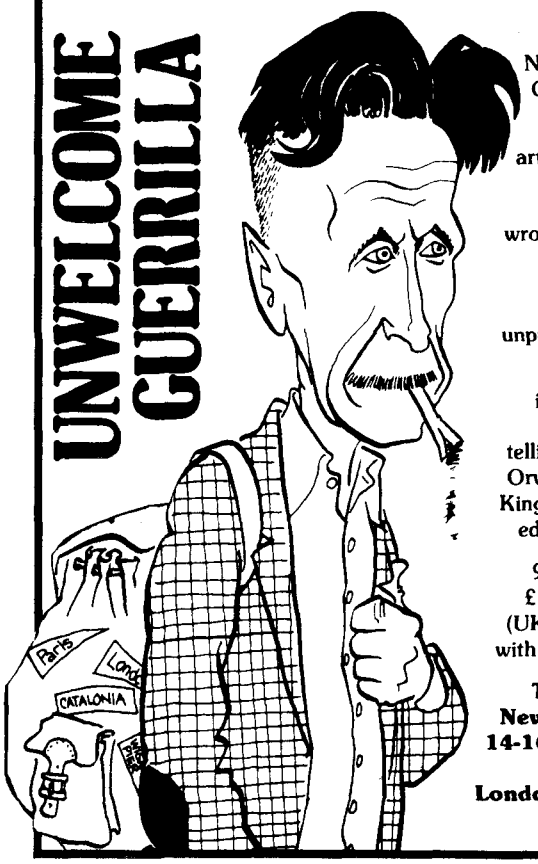

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POLITICAL PUBLICATIONS

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FRI 18 MAY

STOCKPORT 'Medical Effects of Nuclear War' illustrated talk by Dr Jonathan Marrow of Merseyside AHA 8pm Great Moor Junior School, Southwood Rd. **Org Stockport Families for Peace.**

LONDON Theatre Workshops led by actress Effie Aristides 6.30-8.30pm Drill Hall, 16 Chenies St, WC1. Fee £2/£1.30 unwaged per session. **Details: 01-387 9637/ 631 1353.**

SAT 19 MAY

LONDON Benefit with 'Illegal Assembly' & traditional Irish music 7.30pm Caxton House, St John's Way, N19. £2/£1 unwaged. Bar. **Org Islington Troops Out Movement.**

SUN 20 MAY

LONDON 'Education & The Irish in Britain' first in a series of Educationals on Sundays 4.30-7pm A Woman's Place, Hungerford House, Victoria Embankment, WC2. **Details: Ireland and Women London Armagh Grp 01-836 6081.**

LONDON Open Air Fund Day in aid of Barnet Keep the GLC Campaign. 1-5pm Golders Hill Park, NW11. Live Theatre, bands, Spkr at 2.30pm Illtyd Harrington. **Details: George Prow, 01-368 0945/ Ivor Segal 01-445 0228.**

MON 21 MAY

ISLINGTON Campaign against the Arms Trade 'Bread not Bombs' National week of Action. Exhibition at Central Library, Fieldway Cres.

CAMBRIDGE CND policy debate between Bruce Kent & Roger Scruton. 8pm Fisher Hall. **Details: Harriet Purkis 0233 357902 Cambridge Youth CND.**

TUES 22 MAY

KINGSTON Kingston Peace Council/CND Public Meeting 8pm United Reform Church, Eden St. in support of Campaign against the Arms Trade. Exhibition/slides/spkr/discn. **Details: J. Addington 01-399 1445.**

STOKE NEWINGTON 'Wigan Pier Revisited' Spkr Bea Campbell 7.30pm Community Centre, 61 Leswin Rd, N16. Adm. 50p/20p unwaged. **Org Stoke Newington Communist Party.**

ISLINGTON 'Bread not Bombs' supper and social 7.30pm Eden Grove Community Centre, Eden Grove, N7. Tickets £2/£1 unwaged. Tickets/details: 01-607 8565. **Org Islington CAAT week of Action Grp.**

WIMBLEDON 'Just Defence' Spkr Stan Windass 8pm 44 St George's Rd (nr Wimbledon Stn.). Adm. Free. **Org Wimbledon Disarmament Coalition, 66 Lambton Rd, Raynes Park, SW20 0LB.**

WED 23 MAY

LONDON 'The origins of the "New Journalism" — W.T. Stead and his influence' Spkr Prof. J.O. Baylen, Georgia State Uni. 6pm Lecture Hall, London College of Printing, Elephant & Castle, SE1. **01-735 8484.**

THURS 24 MAY

RICHMOND 'Defend the GLC' Spkrs Ken Livingstone, Keith Vaz, Adrian Slade, George Tremlett 8pm Sheen Lane Centre, SW14. **Org Richmond & Twickenham Local Government Cttee.**

FRI 25 MAY

LONDON 'Book-keeping, budgeting and accounts — 2 day course for workers in community grps and voluntry orgs. Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Sq, WC1. **Details: 01-831 7079.**

SAT 26 MAY

ISLINGTON 'Bread not Bombs' exhibition at Islington Green.

COVENTRY 'No Cruise No Pershing! No SS20s!' March & Rally. Assemble 11.30am Edgwick Park, Foleshill Rd/Hearsall Common, Hearsall Lane/Stoke Green, Binley Rd. Spkrs at Memorial Park incl John Ruddock, EP Thompson, Ron Todd, Alan Bleasdale. Evening rock concert. **Details: W. Midlands CND 021 632 6090.**

FORTHCOMING

31 MAY 'Women and Food' Monitoring Day. **Details: Women's Monitoring Network, c/o AWP, Hungerford Hse, Victoria Embankment, WC2. 01-737 4336/ 01-274 6295.**

2 JUNE LONDON 1984 National Homeworking Conf. — International Perspectives, Trade Unions, work of local projects. Day-conf. County Hall, SE1. **Details: 01-633 1493.**

2 JUNE ISLINGTON 'Barrio Latino', Latin American food/bar. 7-12pm Islington Town Hall. £3. **Bookings 01-359 2270. Colombian Cttee-Carila.**

2 JUNE LONDON 2nd Pam Smith Memorial Lecture by Sue Holland 'Loss, Rage and Oppression' neighbourhood psychotherapy with working-class, black and minority women. 2pm Poly of N. London, Ladbroke Hse, 62-66 Highbury Grove, N5. £1/50p unwaged. Tea/creche. **Details: Esther Saraga 01-607 2789/ Sue Einhorn 01-607 2789.**

7 JUNE LONDON 'Unemployment, volunteering and the Government' ARVAC Seminar 2-5pm National Children's Bureau, 8 Wakeley St, EC1. Fee £3.50/£4.50 non-membs./£2 unwaged. **Details & enrolment: Pat Marsden, ARVAC, 26 Queen's Rd, Wivenhoe, Essex CO7 9JH. 0206 225344.**

9 JUNE BIRMINGHAM Labour Party Black Sections, one-day conf. to discuss draft constitutions for black sections to represent all black people in Labour Party. 10.30am Digbeth Civic Hall. **Details: 39 Chippenham Rd, London, W9. 01-286 9692/ 221 7050.**

13 JUNE DARLINGTON 'Jobs not Bombs' meeting with Jimmy Knapp, Gen. Sec. NUR, Roland Boyes, MEP, Mick Elliott, CND. 7.30pm Dolphin Centre, Horsemarket. **Org Darlington Peace Action & Trades Council. 0325 465556.**

16-17 JUNE MANCHESTER 'A Green View of Peace' conf. **contact Green CND, 14 Alexandra Rd, Oxford. 0865 246079.**

17 JUNE LONDON Launch Meeting of OUTRIGHTS Campaign to get people out of mental handicap hospitals. 3pm Drill Hall, 16 Chenies St, WC1. Adm free. **Details: Pete Shelton, OUTRIGHTS, 16 Chenies St, WC1. 01-631 4468.**

19 JUNE LONDON UN Assoc. concert 7.30pm Royal Festival Hall. Royal Philharmonic Orchestra. **Tickets £2.50-£7.50 01-928 3191.**

23 JUNE PILGRIMS' WAY (Wye to Canterbury) Walk to raise funds for Battersea Arts Centre. **Details: Diana Warden, Friends of BAC 01-223 6557/ 8/ 9.**

23 JUNE LONDON '1984 — A Celebration of Women'. Review Our Past, Write Our Future, NCCL Women's Rights Conf. City University. Spkrs incl Dora Russell, Prathiba Parmer, Bea Campbell. **Send s.a.e. to NCCL, 21 Tabard St, SE1 4LA for info.**

25-29 JUNE LONDON Energy Week at Polytechnic of South Bank **Details: Ms Chris Richards, Centre for Energy Studies, Borough Road, SE1 01-928 8989 x 2399.**

1 JULY NOTTINGHAM Mass Trespass at Chilwell Ordnance Depot — 103rd US base. **Details: Reclaim Chilwell, c/o Nottingham CND, Environmental Factshop, 15 Goosegate, Nottingham NG1 1FE. 0602 581948.**

27-29 JULY NOTTINGHAM Shelter Annual Housing Conference University of Nottingham. **Details: Tim Mars, Shelter, 157 Waterloo Rd, SE1 8FX. 01-633 9377.**

12-14 SEPT BRADFORD 'Peace Studies in Higher Education' Conf. org. for those who wish to write/speak on their experience of Peace Studies teaching and research and those who wish to learn. **Contact: James O'Connell, School of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, W. Yorkshire. 0274 733455.**

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GROUPS

SOUTHGATE RENDEZVOUS – New Jewish *Singles Group 35+. Please join us to hear* eminent astrologer, Phyllis Gordon D.F.Astrol.S. at Southgate District Reform Hall, 45 High Street, Southgate, London N14. Sun, 20 May 8.15 p.m. with refreshments £2.50.

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ATTRACTIVE 28-year old, fun-loving American woman, living in Florida, planning London holiday shortly, desires elegant gentleman, 35-55, for sight-seeing, dinner and good company. Box 8370.

ATTRACTIVE, PROFESSIONAL man (58), loves arts, seeks attractive, sensual non-smoking woman, slim/medium (any age to 53), any race/circumstances for warm friendship/enjoyments. Pref. London/surrounding areas. Box 8080.

ATTRACTIVE PROFESSIONAL man, creative, imaginative, warm-hearted, seeks woman, young to 36, any race, slim/medium, sensual, who needs the older man. London/surrounding areas preferred. Box 8105.

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FRIENDLY, 30, Guitar-playing, theatre-going, anti-Thatcherist, somewhat stultified in London, northern man, still working on life's conundrum, seeks unceremonious, warm woman friend. Box 8339.

HAPPY, ATTRACTIVE, prof. woman, Southern England, seeks congenial, socialist *male* 50+, 5'9"+, with whom to share wide interests, politics, cinema, travel, conversation and summertime. If you might be him open Box 8323.

IS THERE an unattached female, 30-40, strong-willed and domineering, to convert a non-CND believer? I offer a good home and security for right companion. Box 8327.

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LONDON MALE, 34, anti-sexist, socialist, non-smoker, teacher. Enjoys real ale, *independent* cinema, long walks, long talks, occasional solitude, occasional togetherness, seeks similar woman. Box 8376.

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MALE, 28, unwaged graduate (*history*), socialist Christian, seeks penfriend, NW England area. Interests: politics, books and getting a job. Box 8326.

MAN, 62, slightly unconventional, divorced, *fairly intellectual, caring, vulnerable, solvent,* own house, no commitments, seeks sensitive, kindly woman partner, without ties, for friendship/marriage. Box 8322.

MIDDLE-AGED MAN, ALONE,
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PROFESSIONAL LADY, broken marriage, caring, feminine, slim, well dressed, seeks unattached, tall, cultured and caring professional man/graduate, youthful, fifties, hopefully for lasting relationship. Box 8324.

PROFESSIONAL MAN, mid-forties, quiet, caring, divorced, would like to meet lively, affectionate woman. Midlands. Box 8338.

PROFESSIONAL WOMAN London, mid-forties, seeks professional man, sense humour, *share arts*, cinema, classical music, travel, wining, dining. Box 8273.

ROBERT (29), pseudo intellectual, half crazed, seems warm, affectionate, slightly non conventional female for occasional fun and relaxation. West Midlands area. Box 8372.

SAGITTARIAN, 40, slim, realising life is passing him by, seeks *lively female with similar* feelings, London based, likes books, psychology. Box 8262.

SCEPTICAL, HUMOROUS, intelligent, affectionate man, 34, widely travelled, eclectic interests, still unconvinced by most social and intellectual conventions, seeks woman *companion to explore alternatives*. Box 8228.

SEARCH COMMENCING for educated *female*, with some mutual interest in music, gardening, cinema, sport, accessible to attractive lecturer, male, 39. Photo if possible. W. Midlands. Box 8334.

SINGLE, ATTRACTIVE lady, sincere, respectable, intelligent, lonely, seeks attractive, sincere, unattached doctor, any nationality, aged 35-45, view friendship/marriage. Box 8325.

SLIMMISH, PRETTYISH, youngish 42, warm-hearted, educated, divorced woman, with children, living Worcestershire, likes arts, sailing, country pursuits, seeks masculine fun and friendship. Box 8328.

SOCIAL WORKER, 34, seeks companionable, preferably leftish, but *definitely non-sexist* male. Interests include: CND, cinema, food, countryside etc. Essex/Suffolk/London. Box 8355.

SPRING BURGEONS but needn't bother if you aren't here to share it. Bloke, 37, smokeless, secondhand, some corners *knocked off, loves music, lives Sheffield.* And you? Box 8350.

TALL, INTELLIGENT (not intellectual), affable professional male, (44), wide interests, seeks bright, creative and imaginative woman for friendship/relationship. Age unimportant, Western Home Counties/London. Box 8375.

TALL, DARK HAIRED,
graduate male, 25, interests: cinema, theatre, politics and just walking in the park, seeks unpretentious and intelligent lady to share whatever life can offer. London area.
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VERY ATTRACTIVE woman, 36, creative, sensitive, *warm-hearted*, seeks male, 30-50, who is educated, genuine and mature, with a sense of humour. Box 8272.

WOMAN, 30, easy going socialist, likes: pubs, food, films, walks, laughs, would like similar male for some of this. Inner London. Box 8329.

YOUNG HOMOSEXUAL (23), dislikes gay scene, affectionate, intelligent, interested literature, classical music, countryside, seeks gentle, civilised man (over 21) for friendship. London & Scotland based. Box 8364.

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